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FBIS-SOV-88-147 | CONTENTS | 1 August 1988

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

First Four SS-12's Destroyed at Saryozek 1
  Foreigners, Reporters Observe 1
Soviets Inspect U.S. Air Base in Netherlands 1
  Inspection Begins 29 Jul 1
  Inspection Completed 31 Jul 1
Military Writer, Officials on Weapon Elimination 2
  Bogachev: Unprecedented Disarmament 2
  'Conversation' With Gen Bugrov 2
  Gen Batenin Interviewed 3
Strategic 'Initiatives' Presented in Geneva 3
  'Constructive Response' Expected 3
Foreign Expert on Continuing Helsinki Process 4

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Talks Begin With U.S. on Gulf, Middle East 5
Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable' *[Agayants, Kornilov, Charikov]* 5

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Reportage on Carlucci Visit to Moscow 10
  Helsinki Stopover 29 Jul 10
  Visit Agenda Noted 10
  Met by Yazov on Arrival 10
  Carlucci Career Outlined *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 31 Jul]* 10
Akhromeyev Takes 'Positive' View of U.S. Visit *[MOSCOW NEWS No 30]* 11
Bovin Comments on Current U.S. Gulf Policy 12
Reagan Calls for Resuming Aid to Nicaragua 12

China

Report on NPC Delegation 18-28 Jul Visit 12
Uzbek Company Manager on Trade With Xinjiang 13

Northeast Asia

Japanese Prime Minister Gives Policy Speech 13
Japan's Views on 'Soviet Threat' Refuted *[Kalinin]* 13
Exclusion of Soviets From Japanese Talks Scored *[Dmitriyev]* 14
Soviet, DPRK Foreign Ministry Aides Confer *[IZVESTIYA 31 Jul]* 15
DPRK Ships Arrive in Vladivostok 29 Jul 15

Southeast Asia & Pacific

- Bomb Explodes at Soviet Fishing Office in Manila *[Beijing XINHUA]* 15
- Official Outlines Philippine Economic Projects *[Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER 25 Jul]* 16
- Further Reportage on Bogor Meeting on Cambodia 16
  - Nikolayev Views Peace Plan 16
  - Informal Meeting Praised 17
  - Outcome 'Surpassed' Expectations *[PRAVDA 29 Jul]* 17
  - 'Important Step' Achieved *[Kondrashov]* 18
  - 'Observer' on Outcome 18
- Outgoing Soviet Envoy Outlines View of Asia *[Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA]* 19
- Bovin Assesses Recent Burmese Politics 19

Near East & South Asia

- Diplomatic Relations Established With Qatar 20
- Iraqi Envoy, Vorontsov Discuss Gulf War 20
- U.S. Stand on Gulf Withdrawal Assailed 20
- Perfilyev Comments on Visiting Israeli Group *[IZVESTIYA 1 Aug]* 21
  - Bovin Views Israelis' Tasks 22
- Current Relations With Israel Assessed *[MOSCOW NEWS No 30]* 22
  - Israeli Urges New Ties *[MOSCOW NEWS No 30]* 23
- Comparison of Statement on OGONEK Article 24
- Pakistani 'Violations' of Accords Noted 24
- Reportage on Current Afghan Situation 25
  - Rocket Attack on Kabul 25
  - Afghan General on Nangarhar 25
- Egyptian Minister Ghali Views Soviet Ties 26

Sub-Saharan Africa

- U.S.-Soviet Talks on Southern Africa Open 26
- Boraine Assesses RSA's Political Situation 27
  - Further on Boraine Views 27
- Soviet Talks With Angolan Group Possible *[Lisbon]* 28
- History of Relations With Somalia Discussed 28
- Congolese Group Studies CPSU Farming Policy *[PRAVDA 28 Jul]* 29
- Rwandan Parliamentary Delegation Concludes Visit 29

East Europe

- Joint Military Exercises With GDR Conclude 30

West Europe

- Reportage on Moscow Visit by FRG's Genscher 30
  - Arrives 29 Jul 30
  - Visit Significance Noted 30
  - Meets With Gorbachev 31
  - Further on Talks *[Hamburg DPA]* 31
  - PRAVDA Reports Talks *[31 Jul]* 31
  - Genscher Views Talks *[Hamburg DPA]* 32
  - Meets With Shevardnadze 32
  - Eases Doubts About EEC *[Hamburg DPA]* 33
  - PRAVDA on Talks *[1 Aug]* 33

Latin America & Caribbean

- TASS Condemns Shultz' Guatemala Visit 34

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Further on 29 Jul CPSU Central Committee Plenum 35
    Speakers, Activities Noted *[PRAVDA 30 Jul]* 35
    Gorbachev Delivers Report *[PRAVDA 30 Jul]* 35
    Resolution on Conference Decisions *[PRAVDA 31 Jul]* 50
    'Report and Election' Resolution *[PRAVDA 31 Jul]* 52
    Resolution on Restructuring Party *[PRAVDA 31 Jul]* 53
TASS Correction to CPSU Resolutions Report 54
Government Resolution Pertains to Tax System *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jul]* 55
RSFSR Adopts Law on Demonstrations 55
Kuybyshev Party Plenum Releases Muravyev 55
Expelled Armenian Nationalist Arrives in Rome *[AFP]* 56
Armenian MVD Acts To Boost Effectiveness *[TRUD 29 Jul]* 56
Azerbaijan Making Plans for NKAO Development *[Baku]* 57
    Official Appraises Progress *[IZVESTIYA 1 Aug]* 57
Zagladin Views Restructuring Foreign Policy 58
    Policy 'Widely' Debated 58

Military

31 Jul Navy Day Festivities Reported 59
    Naval Chief's Address 60

First Four SS-12's Destroyed at Saryozek

LD0108093288 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Saryozek (Kazakhstan) August 1 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Vladimir Itkin and Gennadiy Talaleyev:

The first four Soviet shorter-range missiles, OTR-22, known in the West as SS-12, have been destroyed. This happened today at noon sharp, Moscow time, at the test range in Saryozek, 200 kilometres north west of Alma-Ata. This act, which has no precedent in history, was carried out in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty, signed during a visit to Washington last December by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

In three years the Soviet side will eliminate 1,752 deployed and stored missiles, with a range of 500 to 5,500 km. The American side, according to the U.S. data, will eliminate 859 such missiles. The elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles by the two sides will lead to a substantial lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe and to the lessening of the risk of global nuclear conflict.

An American inspection team was at the test range to observe the destruction of missiles. The USSR Defense Ministry also provided an opportunity for the representatives of Soviet and foreign public to witness the first ever destruction of Soviet missiles. Saryozek played host to numerous Soviet guests as well as representatives of leading peace movements in the USA and Western Europe, where American Pershing-2 and cruise missiles are sited, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, where Soviet missiles were deployed, as well as from Australia, India, Egypt, Nicaragua, Finland, Canada, Japan and some other international non-governmental organisations.

Foreigners, Reporters Observe

LD0108144288 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Alma-Ata August 1 TASS—Preparatory operations over and people and vehicles safely afar, a pillar of fire and smoke complete with burning metal debris rose today above the test site in Saryozek, Soviet Kazakhstan.

American INF Treaty inspectors, representatives of the world public and Soviet and foreign journalists witnessed the start of the destruction of Soviet SS-12 missiles. The foreign representatives watched all stages of this work: Delivery of the missiles from storage to the elimination area, extraction of rocketry instruments and electric equipment and actions by engineers.

The first shorter-range missiles were unilaterally removed by the Soviet Union from combat duty on the territory of the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia and brought here last spring, long before the ratification of the INF Treaty by the U.S. Senate and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Only correspondents from several socialist countries were invited to watch the unloading of the first trainload of missiles. Scientists, ecologists and Soviet journalists attended the testing of the missile destruction technology at the Saryazek test site.

As to the ecological situation, the previous tests showed, one week of daily explosions will release not more substances and gases into the atmosphere than an average thermal power plant in a month of operation. The locality was a good choice, too. The test site is situated in a huge natural depression surrounded with hills. All these factors combined, the least possible damage will be caused to the environment.

Soviets Inspect U.S. Air Base in Netherlands

Inspection Begins 29 Jul

LD2907225188 Moscow TASS in English 1857 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] The Hague July 29 TASS—A ten-member group of Soviet inspectors that arrived in the Netherlands started today the holding of inspections at the U.S. Air Force base in Woensdrecht. The inspection is implemented in accordance with the provisions of the verification of the observance of the Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

As is known, the Netherlands is one of five West European NATO countries that agreed to deploy U.S. cruise missiles on their territories. The first of the 48 missiles meant to be deployed on the Netherlands' territory were to arrive in Woensdrecht late this year. But the conclusion of the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and its subsequent ratification have led to the fact that the missiles have not been deployed on the Netherlands' territory.

Inspection Completed 31 Jul

LD3107143488 Moscow TASS in English 1418 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] The Hague July 31 TASS—A team of 10 Soviet inspectors, staying in the Netherlands, today completed inspections at the U.S. Airforce Base in Woensdrecht. The inspections are perfomed in accordance with the provisions on verification of the observance of the Soviet-American treaty on the liquidation of medium- and shorter- range missiles.

The Soviet specialists were accompanied by 12 U.S. experts. Earlier such inspections had been held at four U.S. military installations in Great Britain and West Germany.

As a spokesman for the Soviet team told newsmen in the Hague, the work proceeded in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and met the interests of both sides.

The first of the 48 missiles intended for deployment in the territory of the Netherlands were to arrive at the U.S. Airforce Base in Woensdrecht late this year. Underground silos for their deployment were already under construction. Following the entry of the INF Treaty into force the construction was discontinued. The computer control centre for monitoring the launching of the nuclear missiles, built there last autumn, was also dismantled.

Military Writer, Officials on Weapon Elimination

Bogachev: Unprecedented Disarmament

LD2907195588 Moscow TASS in English 1933 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

The process of the elimination of Soviet and American intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles will start on August 1. Missiles capable of carrying nuclear weapons will be destroyed not for the reason that they have become obsolete or ineffective, but for the reason that they are too dangerous for humanity. This act of real nuclear disarmament without precedent in history will be implemented in accordance with the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

In the course of three years the Soviet side will destroy 1,752 missiles that are either deployed or are in storage, that have the range of from 500 to 5,500 km. The Americans announced that they will destroy 859 such missiles. Bilateral elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles will result in a considerable lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe. In the lessening of the risk of all-out nuclear war which could have catastrophic consequences for the entire humanity.

It is also important that the two countries, having agreed on the unprecedented measures of real nuclear disarmament, are implementing them under an unprecedented control with the use of various forms of on-site inspections. The very fact of joint control creates conditions for confidence-building. As the sides get convinced that the obligations assumed are strictly observed, the level of confidence will undoubtedly be enhanced.

The first inspections carried out in the USSR and the USA mainly for the purpose of checking the actual number of missiles against the data presented by both sides, have passed successfully. Soviet inspectors who visited U.S. bases note that Americans treated them as partners in the work which is conducted on the territory of the USA and on the territory of the USSR. Head of the group of inspectors from the USA, Captain Second Class John Williams, noted that during the arrangement of U.S. inspections in the USSR, Soviet representatives manifested high professionalism and attentiveness. He told newsmen that one could only dream about the hospitality accorded them in the USSR. Inspectors of both countries will be present during all the acts of the destruction of missiles. Part of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles will be destroyed by explosions.

Explosions usually cause concern of people. But the explosions in August at bases of the USSR and USA will, undoubtedly, revive the hopes of peoples for a better future.

'Conversation' With Gen Bugrov

LD3107124788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] A KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent has spoken to Major-General Bugrov, deputy chief of staff of the Central Asian Military Okrug. He is responsible for preparing and carrying out the elimination of shorter-range missiles in the Saryozek area. I would like to acquaint you with the contents of their conversation.

The day and time for starting the elimination have already been fixed. In precise accordance with the provisions of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the first operational explosion will be carried out at the elimination site at 1200 Moscow time on 1 August. At exactly midnight on the night of 31 July-1 August as specified in the treaty, the missiles due for destruction—four OTR-22 class missiles—will start to be brought out into the operational area. Subsequently, events will proceed as follows. At 0500 Moscow time, the missiles placed on the detonation site will be presented by us to the U.S. inspection group. Only after that will we start to place blasting material on the cluster of missiles due for elimination.

Representatives of antiwar organizations from foreign countries and of the Soviet public and journalists who have been invited to the elimination site will be able to observe the work of the military sappers. As soon as the missiles have been tied around with explosives, we will show our visitors how the the missiles have been prepared for elimination from a specially prepared location.

A viewing platform has been set up at a safe distance to allow the actual blast to be observed. Twenty minutes before the explosion, we will complete work to lay the detonation circuits and check that they are working properly. A traffic control and regulating service has been organized. The area has been cordoned off with guard posts everywhere where outside persons or grazing livestock could happen to stray. It has already been stated repeatedly that all operations to eliminate missiles in the Saryozek area are harmless to the environment. Nevertheless, a special service will be carrying out continuous monitoring of pollution of the air, water, and soil and analyzing the effect of the explosions on the environment.

Gen Batenin Interviewed

LD3007221388 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Interview with General Geliy Batenin by Oleg Vakulovskiy; date and place not given—recorded; Batenin remarks in Russian fading into English translation; Vakulovskiy questions read by announcer]

[Text] [Announcer] Judging by reaction in the West the three-stage plan to cut armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe put forward by the Warsaw Treaty recently has real chances to materialize. Such is the assessment given by General Geliy Batenin, military expert with the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee. He was speaking in an interview with Radio Moscow's Oleg Vakulovskiy. We now bring you that interview in English transcript.

After the Warsaw Treaty summit in the Polish capital the Western media was visibly disappointed to a certain extent that the Warsaw Treaty failed to announce a Soviet troop withdrawal from Hungary. But how justified was such an approach in the issue of armed forces cuts in Europe? Gen Batenin.

[Batenin] Since the idea is to draw up the mandate for talks on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons on the entire territory of Europe these issues must be approached on a footing of reciprocity. We believe that they must be dealt with as soon as possible. Some time ago a number of West and East European countries allowed the presence of foreign troops contingents on their territories because of a high level of military confrontation. American and Soviet troops were deployed. Since then the situation has changed considerably especially since 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev became the leader of the Soviet Union.

The notion of new political thinking has created an entirely new situation along with the moves undertaken by the Warsaw Treaty Organization to reduce weapons and the signing of the INF Treaty. In the circumstances the issue of reducing the foreign military presence in Eastern and Western Europe has come to top the agenda.

Expectations that the Soviet Union should take unilateral steps can be understood to a certain extent. In my opinion, the situation now is close enough to unilateral action where the psychology of the Soviet side is concerned. The stand taken by NATO interferes with such action, however, because it is still based on cold war thinking in some of its elements. NATO is still claiming that a powerful Soviet military presence in Europe is the main factor menacing the West. By the same token I can say that the United States troops stationed in Western Germany are the main factor menacing the East. Clearly both views are not impartial and action must be taken to deal with the problem directly.

In their declaration, the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organization reaffirmed their readiness to deal with the issue of the foreign military presence in the nineties and also to deal with the issue of the continued existence of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO.

[Announcer] There inevitably arises the issue of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization making progress toward a purely defensive structure of armed forces and armaments. The confrontation cannot be removed unless such progress is made. What progress has been made? Gen Batenin.

[Batenin] The Warsaw Treaty Organization has adopted a purely defensive military doctrine. NATO is saying that its military doctrine is also a defensive one but this does not follow from the structure of its forces or the nature of exercises they carry out, the more so since NATO is still committed to a flexible response strategy which provides for using nuclear weapons in an emergency. It also provides for waging a limited nuclear war. All this runs counter to contemporary understanding of the part of nuclear weapons and their nature.

I discern some positive signs in NATO's policymaking circles. We have met with members of the West German Bundeswehr, for instance, and we discussed various ways of creating purely defensive structures on both sides. A transition must be made to a strategy that would rule out large scale offensive operations in principle. That is, of course, a mere declaration as it is. Appropriate action must be taken with respect to altering the structure of troops and the nature of exercises.

Strategic 'Initiatives' Presented in Geneva

LD3007102388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] The Soviet delegation at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons, which are being held in Geneva, came forward in the course of the past week with new initiatives directed at the speediest possible preparation of the treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons in conditions of strict abidance by the ABM Treaty. The Soviet draft is of a compromise nature, incorporating to a large extent the arguments set out earlier by the U.S. delegation.

'Constructive Response' Expected

LD3007123988 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Geneva July 30 TASS—The Soviet delegation at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments, currently under way here, tabled new initiatives over the past week, aimed at the earliest drafting of a treaty on a 50-per cent reduction of the strategic offensive weapons in the conditions of strict observance of the ABM Treaty. The Soviet side has tabled a revised version of Article 8 on the reequipment or elimination, which are carried out with the aim of achieving and maintaining radically reduced limits at 1,600 strategic carriers and 6,000 nuclear warheads on them for each of the sides, as the future agreement stipulates. The Soviet draft is a compromise which largely takes into account the considerations, expressed earlier by the U.S. delegation, which creates the necessary conditions for coordinating in full measure this important section of the future treaty.

The Soviet delegation also presented a number of concrete formulas for inclusion in the draft documents as part of the efforts to implement agreements, reached at the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow, on the question of control over mobile IBM launchers.

The Soviet side expects a constructive response to these proposals.

The group on space arms continues to discuss issues connected with the drafting of a separate agreement on observing the ABM Treaty and non-withdrawal from it during a specified period, as well as a protocol to this agreement. Unfortunately, substantially different attitudes still remain in this field. While the Soviet delegation, guided by the decisions adopted at the summit level, consistently presses for an accurate and integral implementation of the Washington formula of December 10 last year in the agreement which is being currently drafted, the American delegation continues to insist on drastically altering it to accomodate the so-called "broad" interpretation of the ABM Treaty. Such policy line runs counter to the task of ensuring observance of the ABM Treaty in the form it was signed in 1972, as a necessary precondition for effecting the 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive weapons.

This approach of the American side prevents the talks from making headway on a joint draft agreement on ABM Treaty-related issues.

Foreign Expert on Continuing Helsinki Process

LD3100211000 Moscow TASS in English 2043 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—The Helsinki process is increasingly felt by the European nations to be the real way towards lowering the level of military confrontation and building up trust and broad cooperation, a TASS correspondent was told by Sergey Zotov, expert of the USSR Foreign Ministry. By putting to the foreground the political mechanism for settlement, the Helsinki process considerably reduces the danger of Europe's return to the times of confrontation.

The Final Act of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation which mirrored the balance of interests of the states and groups has been and remains the cornerstone of political detente, Zotov continued. There has never been in the history of Europe such a well-organized and democratic process with the participation of all states of Europe as well as the USA and Canada. It covers both political, military, economic, and ecological, scientific technological, humanitarian and cultural aspects of cooperation.

Simultaneously the Helsinki process has become the starting point for forming and asserting new international thinking. The comprehensive system of international peace and security put forward at the 27th CPSU Congress and the Helsinki process is in the same system of the coordinates and is directed towards one goal—building by the joint efforts the measures that would exclude the very possibility of an outbreak of war.

The significance of the Helsinki process is also determined by the fact that it is the way to building an "all European home", the expert of the USSR Foreign Ministry said. Now the Vienna meeting is drawing to an end. It may go down into history as a forum which laid the groundwork for genuine cooperation in Europe, above all in the military field. The latest initiative of the Political Consultative Council of the Warsaw Treaty member states in the field of cuts in the arms and armed forces in Europe has met with a positive response from a number of prominent figures in the West, including from FRG Minister for Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher who has left for home today. This will undoubtedly give a fresh impetus to enhancing the level of security in the European Continent.

Talks Begin With U.S. on Gulf, Middle East

LD0108100588 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva August 1 TASS—Soviet-American consultations on the Middle East problems started here today. Their agenda will include questions connected with prospects of the settlement of the Middle East problem, the Iranian-Iraqi conflict and the situation in the Persian Gulf.

A Soviet delegation at the consultations is led by Vladimir Polyakov, member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and an American delegation by Richard Murphy, U.S. assistant secretary of state for the Middle East and South Asian affairs.

Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable'

LD3107195388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 31 Jul 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Nikolay Agayants, Yuriy Emmanuilovich Kornilov, "well-known Soviet publicist" and TASS political observer, and Igor Pavlovich Charikov, All-Union Radio political commentator]

[Text] [Agayants] Hello, comrades. Let me first of all introduce to you those taking part in today's roundtable, which will be our last one in July. They are Yuriy Emmanuilovich Kornilov, well-known Soviet publicist and TASS political observer, and my colleague Igor Pavlovich Charikov, All-Union Radio foreign political commentator.

Since it is obvious that you cannot fit a quart into a pint pot, we intend today to restrict the range of issues for discussion in this broadcast to those suggested by the events of the past week or by the letters we have been receiving at the editorial office. For example, our regular listener, Nikolay Ilyich (?Konokoy) of Stavropol, asks that we should—I quote—not just start from the beginning, i.e. give the facts and comment on them, but also provide a theoretical foundation for the various phenomena of international life. Yuriy Chernyavskiy of Moscow, Rima Oblasova of Minsk, and many others wrote similar letters. Well, we will take that advice and begin.

The revolutionary changes that are taking place in our country are receiving a lot of attention from the world public. The reactions from the foreign media emphasize that the CPSU Central Committee plenum, which was held on 29 July, reflected our party's line of consolidating the processes of restructuring in all areas and in all their aspects. Although the plenum was concerned with internal problems, its international significance is obvious. What I would like to say here is this: As for the main question, the one which Soviet people are most anxious about, they want to hear an appraisal of the results of the work of the past 3 years; namely, whether we have succeeded in pushing back the threat of war. To this we can answer: Yes, certainly. That was stated a month ago by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary from the rostrum of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, in a report analyzing the restructuring that is taking place in our society and particularly in our national foreign policy.

[Kornilov] The highly important conclusion that the threat of war has receded is undeniable evidence that a pivotal and historic breakthrough has occurred in international relations. Only recently, the giddy arms race was approaching a critical point while traditional Soviet activity in foreign affairs directed toward achieving lasting peace and disarmament was unfortunately and gradually losing credibility.

[Charikov] You are absolutely right, Yuriy Emmanuilovich. You do indeed want to state again that, for the sake of achieving military-strategic parity—as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed in his speech—we allowed ourselves to be drawn into the arms race, but we did not by any means take full advantage of political opportunities to reduce international tension, provide for the security of our state, or develop mutual understanding and trust with countries belonging to a different social system.

As a result of the sides' confrontational policy, our world came close to the danger point. The realities of modern life have shifted all the emphases of international policy and focused them on one thing, to wit: How to save our civilization and how to preserve Mankind—with a capital letter—from the threat of self-destruction.

[Agayants] Today—and this is something that can be asserted with a full sense of responsibility—the political atmosphere on our planet has cleared and become noticeably purer. Step by step, the obstructions and ice hummocks of the cold war of sorry repute, and of dangerous military confrontation, are being cleared away. The direct threat of a military conflict involving the superpowers has lessened, and the leaders of the USSR and the United States have resolutely proclaimed that a nuclear war between them cannot and must not be unleashed. It should be noted with satisfaction that the axis of international life is increasingly moving from suspicion and confrontation toward mutual understanding and talks that hold out the promise of concrete results.

[Kornilov] That is certainly confirmed by such major international events as the coming into force of the Soviet-U.S. treaty to scrap intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, the Genena agreements on Afghanistan, and the start of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. In a word, the process of changing the political climate is underway. That process is difficult, and it is not smooth, but it is taking place.

[Charikov] You are right. To achieve such results, results that we are entitled, fully entitled, to today list on the credit side of our main achievements of restructuring, it has of course been necessary to not just improve our foreign policy, but also to move right away from the stereotypes of the past and to renew it radically and vigorously—to restructure it, in other words.

[Agayants] This has been achieved by the use of a reliable instrument which has won recognition throughout the world. By this I mean the new political thinking, which is an integral part of our restructuring and an expression of its profoundly humanistic nature. This is a method, one based on scientific Marxist-Leninist theory, of perceiving the world as complex, diverse, and contradictory. The new thinking reflects a special stage in the development of general human consciousness in a critical period in which literally the whole human race has been directly confronted with the problem of self-destruction or self-preservation, which we have already mentioned. It is also a reflection of the realities of the nuclear space age, acting as a kind of compass for political conduct under the conditions those realities have created.

Foreign policy and diplomacy were the subjects of a scientific and practical conference held at the USSR Foreign Ministry on 25 and 26 July. This was done with the aim of analyzing the experience that has been amassed; interpreting the period since the CPSU Central Committee April 1985 Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress; determining the paths, methods, and forms of work which will ensure that the restructuring of Soviet diplomacy is strengthened and made irreversible; and consolidating the positive processes that are taking place in the international arena. During the conference, one of the topics discussed dealt with the priorities of Soviet foreign policy, with particular emphasis on the need to fully realize the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems as the supreme and universal principle of international relations. Also stressed in this connection was the need for adjustments to our foreign policy priorities, including possibly even appropriate changes to the USSR Constitution. Much attention was devoted to matters concerning the development and strengthening of the Soviet Union's relations with socialist countries.

[Kornilov] I think, Nikolay Ivanovich, that we ought to emphasize here the important conclusion drawn at the conference, that in the present stage of restructuring and renewal, the world socialist system—the socialist community—is an enormous asset to us, and, at the same time, as a factor of peace and progress, an asset to all civilization, the whole of humanity. To augment it, to improve it further, and to develop our contacts with our allies is to make the world a safer and more reliable place, and therefore to become stronger and thereby guarantee that our peacemaking objectives will be attained.

[Charikov] As we know, the Soviet Union pursues its foreign policy in close collaboration with the socialist community states. The course of strengthening that community is a priority of our foreign policy. What this amounts to, essentially, is that the USSR and the fraternal countries are carrying out a common foreign policy strategy, with the USSR placing on the scales of peace its economic, political, and defense potential. We are united by our shared vital interests and the unity of our approach to international events and to the tasks that we will have to tackle with our joint efforts. We are constantly perfecting the mechanism of cooperation among the Warsaw Pact countries in matters of foreign policy. Also, it goes without saying that this helps to increase the effectiveness of their actions in the international arena on a whole varied range of problems. Confirmation of this has been provided by the last session of the Political Consultative Committee, which was held in the Polish capital. The new peace initiatives concerning the European home that were put forward there are the focus of the attention of the world public. They demonstrate that the spirit of Helsinki is alive and is growing stronger and developing.

[Agayants] We are marking at this time another anniversary of the Helsinki conference, which was at the time an important watershed in the developent of the life of the world community. Such stages of crucial change have always made, and today still make, especially high demands on the foreign policy strategy of all states without exception. It is easy to see why, because the only foreign policy line that can be effective is one that meets the requirements of the age and takes into account the full depth and complexity of the existing contradictions, giving a clear and perspicuous answer to the challenge of the times.

In other words, for foreign policy strategy to be vital and strike a chord in the hearts of millions of people, it must express and reflect international life itself, be drawn up in line with the realities of the age, and be oriented to the quest for a constructive solution to the complex issues confronting mankind. It is essential to continue the quest along the paths of the new thinking and ponder the meaning of approaches and moves to achieve a better international community. Much still has to be understood, and through joint efforts the situation around the world needs to be changed for the better.

[Kornilov] In my time as a journalist, I at times covered the progress of the preparations for the all-European conference. At first we worked in Helsinki and then in Geneva. Indeed, leafing through my old notebooks from when I was a journalist, I can once again attest to what vast and intensive efforts and what unbending political will and diplomatic skill were then required from our country and from our allies and friends to develop and enshrine in interstate relations the principles of peaceful coexistence, cooperation, and trust. What is more, each country at the time traveled its part of the path toward an acceptable solution. As a result, the Final Act adopted in Helsinki even today, many years later, presents itself to us as a collection of mutual commitments directing all states to live in peace, cooperate fruitfully, and not impose their own views and structures on others. Therefore, you are right, Nikolay Ivanovich. Experience from the past and about Helsinki is very important and useful at the present time, too.

[Agayants] Thirteen years ago, on 1 August 1975, an event took place in Helsinki, the Finish capital, which led the name of that city into history and enshrined it there forever. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was signed there. It is a document of truly majestic importance, one that was signed by the top leaders of all European countries as well as by those of the United States and the Canada. Thirteen years have elapsed since then. One cannot say that this is a round-number anniversary, but we are still recalling Helsinki today, and this is why. We are perhaps not recalling it to joyfully extol the fact of this accord itself and the success of the difficult preparatory work, or to revive people's memories of the details of the solemn ceremony in the Finlandia Hall building.

[Charikov] Excuse me, Nikola Ivanovich, why aren't you? After all, the stature of this event in European history is so great that it is quite right, you will agree, to rank it alongside Yalta and Potsdam.

[Agayants] I agree, Igor Pavlovich, but I had something different in mind. In looking back today at that period, we are marking the 13 years that have passed, in order to focus attention on the main steps of the Helsinki process and to reveal what is facilitating it, what is hampering it, and what future moves or problems one may expect. It is of course with a careful analysis of all of this very full period of time, from this viewpoint, that I propose we in our discussion take a look at an event, one whose 13th anniversary falls tomorrow.

[Charikov] This posing of the issue is completely correct, but nevertheless I would like to return our attention to history. We hold the view that the basis of the postwar setup in Europe was laid by the Yalta and Potsdam conferences of the leaders of the anti-Hitler coalition. It is true that a current belief in the West, one that is fairly energetically propagated, says that these conferences, particularly the Yalta conference, became the cause of the splitting of Europe and not its unification.

[Kornilov] This is precisely how President Reagan described the Yalta conference on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of that event.

[Charikov] Yes, at the time he spoke somewhat more broadly, saying that Yalta had a double significance. Nevertheless, he did stress its negative consequences. However, we have a different point of view. The splitting of Europe occurred under pressure from forces interested in preserving hostility and tension that would make it possible for these forces to make uncontrolled use of the continent as a spearhead against the Soviet Union. After all, the NATO bloc did came into being prior to the Warsaw Treaty Organization. This is a most vivid confirmation of what has already been said.

We consider, and have always considered, that one should not believe that Europe is doomed to eternal confrontation between blocs and to material preparations for war, one bloc against the other. The Soviet Union and the socialist countries have made great efforts not to perpetuate such an outlook, to get rid of it and, so to speak, to remove it from our present-day life. Really, it was their efforts that led to the beginning of the historic Helsinki process which you, Yuriy Emmanuilovich, witnessed. On 1 August 1975, this was crowned by the signing of the Final Act, an assessment of which we have already given in general terms. Suffice it to recall how the peoples of Europe sighed with relief following the Helsinki Conference.

Nevertheless, one has to state with regret that, on the other hand, the Helsinki process set in motion those same forces which opposed in every way the organization of a peaceful and good-neighborly life under the all-European roof. The winds of a new cold war—a second cold war, if it may be so expressed—then blew over Europe.

What helped one escape this seemingly hopeless situation and this state of confrontation in every sphere, including the political and economic sectors as well as the sphere of cultural and humanitarian links? It was the transition to the new political thinking, meaning the rejection of outdated historical stereotypes, and to a perception of actual reality. It is true that we did not immediately arrive at the new thinking. This was, as we remember, not easy, and this entailed certain difficult decisions, one might say, as well as an acknowledgement of our own mistakes.

We now regard Europe as our common home and the abode of peoples adhering to different views and orientations; a place in which, figurately speaking, there is simply nowhere else to live. Our continent is the most densely populated in the world, but at the same time it is also oversaturated with both nuclear and conventional weapons of destruction. It is precisely here in Europe that the two most powerful military alliances are confronting one another. Under the new thinking, we hold the view that any armed clash and any conflict, even one involving conventional arms, may prove to be ruinous. This is not only because these weapons are considerably more destructive than previous ones, even those from World War II. Any conflict may also prove fatal because, as we are aware, a large number of atomic power stations and chemical plants are located in the countries of both Western and Eastern Europe. Just imagine if they were damaged, which would be inevitable in the event of an armed conflict. This would lead to the continent being transformed from an abode into a collective cemetery. That is why we say that our common European home must be set in order and that, figuratively speaking, there must be a general clean-up, one that gets rid of everything hindering us from living peacefully, and an unloading of the stockpiles of weapons from our European home. Indeed, the Helsinki process was one of the impulses that prompted one to seek ways to this goal.

[Agayants] It would be apt to here recall the efforts of the socialist countries. They have made great efforts to preserve the spirit of Helsinki and to embody it in a real form.

[Charikov] I had occasion to work in the Austrian capital and to cover the progress of the Vienna talks—these are still the same Vienna talks—on reducing forces and arms in central Europe. This was at the beginning of the eighties. The Soviet Union and our allies repeatedly came out—and this was taking place in the Redoute Hall of the Hofburg Palace—with specific and factual initiatives and a complete, thorough plan of measures. These included measures that could have gotten the talks moving and moved them out of the impasse into which they had fallen throughout the whole 12 years. Each time, however, all our proposals were immediately swept aside and declared propagandistic and unrealistic.

[Kornilov] I think it is quite legitimate to consider the summit-meeting signing in Washington of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles—a treaty we have already mentioned today—as an important part of the Helsinki process and as an integral part of the majestic program which is designed to free Europe and other continents from nuclear weapons. There is, of course, a host of other important problems and other issues, and not only in the sphere of disarmament, about which we have had a great deal to say today. One may also discuss economic links, humanitarian contacts, and so on and so forth. It is gratifying to know that the process that was begun in Helsinki is continuing.

[Agayants] Last week, a briefing was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. When talking about the situation in Afghanistan, Perfilyev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, reminded the press that Kabul and other cities in that country are still being systematically subjected to rocket attacks. As a result of these terrorist acts, peaceful citizens, old men, women, and children are being killed. Rockets attacks on residential areas, terrorist explosions in public places, and killings in the street clearly indicate that the channels along which arms, including rockets, are being delivered are expanding. A number of countries, including Pakistan, obviously do not want to part with the Afghan issue, which they have been exploiting in every way for many years and which they are trying to use for their own purposes, purposes that are far from selfless. Now the appropriate propaganda backing is also being provided to the policy aimed at violating and trampling the Geneva agreements and at continuing to crudely interfere in Afghan affairs. At the same time, the enemies of the settlement, including very high-ranking politicians, are not averse to the basest possible tricks.

[Kornilov] Continuing on this subject, I remind you, for example, of a recent statement by the Pakistani president in which he claimed nothing more or less than that the USSR is allegedly not pulling out its troops from Afghanistan, and that it is to the contrary sending more in. Although this libelous statement was immediately and resolutely refuted by both Moscow and Kabul, some people in the West, especially in the United States, are still spreading these allegations abroad. Here is a quotation from the 1 August issue of the U.S. magazine NEWSWEEK, for example: The Soviet Union will not pull out its troops by the deadline that has been set.

[Agayants] The question may arise: What is the purpose of this sort of invention?

[Kornilov] The answer can be found, for example, in the pages of the very same U.S. press. Let us open the 25 July issue of THE NEW YORK TIMES. Here is a quotation: Any supposition that the Soviets are delaying the pullout of their troops from Afghanistan permits greater pressure to be put on the administration to increase arms supplies to the insurgents.

[Agayants] This has been stated with frankness. This is also additional evidence that the dangerous, essentially hegemonist concept of neoglobalism that was at one time developed in Washington has not been abandoned by any means.

[Kornilov] No, it has not been abandoned. In this connection, I would like to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by this meeting today to cite a specific example demonstrating how certain propaganda centers of Washington, centers which advertise and justify reliance on force, are trying to pile up their own sins on others. A while ago, the Voice of America broadcast a commentary on international terrorism in which it claimed that the numerous terrorist acts being committed in Pakistan were staged by the Kabul regime with Soviet support.

At that time, I thought it was necessary to give a reply through our channels, TASS channels, to this attack whose purpose obviously was not only to cast a shadow on the Moscow and Kabul peace policy aimed at settling the Afghan problem, but also to distract public attention from the genuine causes and sources of terrorism, which have been nurtured by Washington's stake in the use of force.

I have recently received a letter addressed to us at TASS from the chief of the radio station Voice of America in which that gentleman expressed his extreme displeasure at my answer. I will not quote at length the message from the chief of the Voice of America, but in brief this is its essence: The radio station, when producing its program on international terrorism, allegedly based it on data provided by the U.S. State Department. How dare anyone subject this program to criticism?

[Agayants] I remember that Voice of America program, Yuriy Emmanuilovich. It was indeed stated in the program that it was based on State Department research. What follows from this fact for the journalist, the chief of the Voice of America? Surely, it cannot be the case that the U.S. State Department is some sort of oracle which is not to be subjected to criticism and which proclaims, as the ultimate authority, nothing but irrefutable truths.

[Kornilov] Exactly, exactly. That was precisely the question I asked myself as I read the message sent by the chief of the Voice of America, Mr Carlson.

There is only one answer to this question. Numerous facts testify that it is precisely the State Department that, in my view, having ripened in its depths this highly dangerous concept of neoglobalism—one that originally was elaborated in tandem with the Pentagon and the CIA, and of which we have already spoken—has, not once but many times, defended that concept and sought to justify it.

Let us recall: Did not the State Department organize the undeclared war against sovereign Nicaragua, the invasion of Grenada, and the bombing of Libya? Who, if not the State Department, is now acting, perhaps not directly, but in effect, in support of the circles and forces in Pakistan that you were talking about, Nikolay Ivanovich, the circles and forces opposing in every way the implementation of the provisions of the Geneva package, circles and forces that are organizing ever new acts of terror and sabotage against the Afghan people. Also, the public certainly has not forgotten the position of the State Department in the first days after the U.S. warship shot down the Iranian passenger aircraft over the Persian Gulf and killed nearly 300 absolutely innocent people. Surely, it is precisely the State Department that was then attempting by employing various, and I must say, very clumsy tricks to prove what cannot be proved: that everyone but the United States was to blame for the downing of the airliner.

The Voice of America, whose leaders, judging by the letter of the radio station's head, are prepared to nearly fall to their knees before any document issued by their Washington superiors, occupies a quite definite position on this, which is legitimate in its own way. This voice, as everyone knows, is not the voice of the American people but rather an official radio station which reflects the stand of certain ruling circles in the United States.

[Agayants] Well, in summing up our meeting today and in discussing the essence of the new political thinking, I think it is necessary to stress that we want freedom to reign supreme in every corner of the earth in the next century. We want peaceful competition between varying social systems to develop without constraint, and to encourage mutually beneficial cooperation rather than confrontation and the arms race. We want the people of every country to be comfortably off, prosperous, and happy. The road to this lies through moving towards a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. And here we conclude our program. All the best to you.

United States & Canada

Reportage on Carlucci Visit to Moscow

Helsinki Stopover 29 Jul

LD2907155888 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Helsinki July 29 TASS—U.S. Secretary of Defence Carlucci has arrived here today. He is on a stopover in Helsinki en route to Moscow, where he is going for an official visit at the invitation of alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR defence minister, General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov.

During his stay in Finland Carlucci is to meet with Finnish President Mauno Koivisto and Defence Minister Ole Norrback.

Visit Agenda Noted

LD3107144888 Moscow TASS in English 1431 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent writes:

Under the agreement reached and at the invitation of Army General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet defence minister and alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci will pay an official visit to Moscow tomorrow, August 1.

Thus the Soviet and the American military leaders will continue their contacts in Moscow. Carlucci will be able to visit and familiarise himself with a number of Soviet military installations. A tour of the country is also planned for him, during which he will continue acquainting himself with the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union.

Carlucci is also scheduled to be received by Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in Moscow.

Within the framework of the upcoming visit Yazov and Carlucci will hold their third meeting. The first was held last March in Bern and paved the way for contacts between the leaders of the military departments of the two countries, which were followed up in Moscow in May during the Soviet-American summit meeting.

Early in July Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces and first deputy defence minister of the USSR, visited the United States. There Akhromeyev and Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, approved a plan for contacts between the Soviet and American armed forces for 1988-1990, providing for exchanges of visits of the leaders of the armed forces of the two nations, military delegations and naval vessels.

In the Soviet Union they attach much importance to contacts between the military of the Soviet Union and the USA, since those contacts aim at improving mutual understanding on military aspects of Soviet-American relations, at solving the most important problem of today—the prevention of a nuclear war and cessation of the arms race. In the process, one major component of the dialogue is creation of a mechanism to contribute to resolving the most acute and urgent questions in the field of military activity of the armed forces of the Soviet Union and the USA.

It is important to point out that in the field of arms control these contacts do not aim at superseding the official talks of delegations and the dialogue pursued in this subject area by the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the USA.

Met by Yazov on Arrival

LD0108071688 Moscow TASS in English 0713 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci arrived in Moscow for an official visit today at the invitation of General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, alternate member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and defense minister of the USSR.

He was met at the airport by General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov and other officials.

The welcoming party included Jack Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR.

Answering questions of journalists at the airport, Frank Carlucci pointed out that summit meetings between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan had created a favourable atmosphere for contacts of defense ministers of the two countries. He expressed confidence that a program of his stay in the USSR would be fulfilled in full volume.

Carlucci Career Outlined

PM0108105388 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci To Visit the Soviet Union"]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of Defense F. Carlucci will arrive 1 August on an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister.

F. Carlucci was born in 1930. He is a graduate of Princeton University and Harvard. He is a former professional diplomat. He held office as vice consul, secretary, section chief, consul general, political counselor, and ambassador. He became director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in 1970. He was under secretary for Health, Education, and Welfare in 1972-1974.

He was deputy director of the CIA in 1978-1981. He was deputy secretary of defense in 1981-1983.

He became president of Sears World Trade, Inc. in 1983 and chairman and executive director of the same firm in 1984.

Prior to his appointment as U.S. secretary of defense, F. Carlucci held the position of assistant to the President for national security affairs.

F. Carlucci was appointed U.S. secretary of defense in November 1987.

Akhromeyev Takes 'Positive' View of U.S. Visit

LD2907135088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 30, 24 Jul 88 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev by correspondent Edgar Cheporov in New York: "Sergey Akhromeyev-William Crowe: The Dialogue Continues"; date not given—first paragraph is MOSCOW NEWS introduction]

[Text] A Soviet military delegation headed by chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev visited the USA between July 6 and 11 at the invitation of Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William J. Crowe. Our New York correspondent Edgar Cheporov spoke with Marshal Akhromeyev.

MN: What were your objectives in going to the USA?

S.A.: To consider and launch a plan of contacts between Soviet and US armed forces for 1988-1990; to start preparations for examining ways to reduce the military threat and possible incidents in regions where Soviet and US troops are operating in proximity to each other. Important issues on the agenda included a discussion of both sides' military doctrines, familiarization with the US Armed Forces, visits to military installations. We also wanted to get to know the American people better. We had scheduled meetings with politicians, business people, scientists and other American citizens.

MN: How would you assess your discussions with Admiral Crowe?

S.A.: Admiral Crowe was an attentive and solicitous host. He did his best to make the visit a success. As chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he is understandably a very busy man, but he spent the whole week with us. This attests to his respect for the delegation and his approach to Soviet-U.S. relations as a whole. William Crowe struck me as a thoughtful, patient person possessing broad views of military and political matters, who listens to his opponent and tries to understand his concerns. At the same time, he raised controversial issues and saw to it that they were discussed considering U.S. interests.

MN: What was the atmosphere like?

S.A.: Our visit to the USA was made possible by the work done by General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan over the past three years. Their summits and the understandings they produced improved Soviet-U.S. relations and created a basis for broader contacts in all fields, including military. We met with generals, officers, NCO's and soldiers from all the American armed services. We are satisfied with these meetings. We asked dozens of servicemen what they thought about the Soviet Union. Were they surprised that our delegation visited an aircraft carrier, a training centre for ground forces, a strategic bomber base? The reply was: You did well to come; it's good that the US Armed Forces invited you; relations between our countries should be normalized. Many US miLitary men realize the need for better Soviet-US relations and understand the role they play in preserving universal peace. We have arrived at this conclusion. All the Americans we talked to treated us kindly.

MN: You are a military man, but your mission to the USA might be described as diplomatic....

S.A.: In our discussions, William Crowe and I did not confine ourselves to military matters. The admiral spoke about US history, social processes, the origins of the American nation. As for military and political matters, we discussed in the greatest detail all problems that worry the Soviet Union, problems originated by the USA and its NATO allies. We discussed in the same detail US complaints about the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty member- countries.

I had a lot of pointed discussions and differences with Admiral Crowe. He had his assessments, I had mine. This is only natural. But both sides greatly benefited from the fact that we patiently, carefully analyzed complex problems and tried to understand the reasons for each other's complaints. I'm sure these discussions were useful, in and of themselves, for further talks and for relations between our countries in general.

As regards military "intervention" in solving foreign policy problems, you can't accomplish the paramount task of today—prevention of war—without the military. This is why military leaders are active as never before in the process that should lead to the prevention of war, to successful talks.

MN: How would you describe the results of your visit?

S.A.: As positive. First, we exchanged messages and launched a three-year plan of military contacts between our countries. The plan calls for visits to the USA and the USSR by military leaders of both countries. We also agreed on calls by naval ships at Soviet and American ports, on exchanges of our armies' sports teams, on visits of our historians and other contacts. These will enable both sides to know more about the other and about what is happening in the Soviet and US armies.

We also began discussing ways to prevent dangerous incidents and passed a decision to form Soviet and American teams to work in this field. I hope that their work will eventually produce an agreement. Lastly, it was very important that we talked about cutting strategic offensive weapons and about the ABM Treaty.

Bovin Comments on Current U.S. Gulf Policy

LD3107202288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Jul 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Aleksandr Bovin]

[Text] During the U.S. election campaign, Washington's policy in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf is being discussed. The prospects for an end to the Iran-Iraq war are requiring that the United States adjust its policy. For instance, the United States is hoping to improve relations with Iran. At the same time, Washington is assuming that such an improvement in contacts with Iran will help to free its hostages seized in Lebanon.

Reports have come to the effect that Hashemi-Rafsanjani has recently stated: Free our assets—that is, the bank accounts that the United States has frozen—and then we will help the hostages. But the specter of Irangate is still haunting Washington; therefore, the idea of a deal with regard to the hostages is patently not popular there. As for the Persian Gulf, the United States understands that it will have to cut its military presence there greatly. Of decisive importance evidently will be the stance of the Gulf countries. Right now they favor, for understandable reasons, the U.S. presence. The atmosphere in this region will probably be one of the issues discussed in Moscow during the talks with U.S. Defense Secretary Carlucci.

By the way, the United States has stated its readiness to agree to the Soviet Union's participation in preserving stability in the Persian Gulf region. And another interesting detail: The cease-fire will possibly require that UN peacekeeping forces be brought into operation. This is quite an expensive procedure. However, the United Nations is now experiencing very great financial difficulties, a financial crisis, you could say. The main reason is this: The United States took offense at the frequent criticism in the United Nations and stopped paying the agreed sum to maintain this organization. It ran up a debt of $532 million; that is, over half a billion dollars. Considering the peacemaking role that the United Nations is playing in various conflicts, Washington is now rethinking its stance and, it seems, intends to loosen its purse strings and pay its debts. Well, we have run too far ahead now, because although talks on a cease-fire are going on the war is still continuing.

Reagan Calls for Resuming Aid to Nicaragua

LD3107154988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] U.S. President Reagan has appealed for the resumption of U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries. His Saturday radio address was distinguished for its harsh anti-Nicaraguan tone. Reagan attempted to settle old scores with Congress which, as is known, does not always share the White House view with regard to Central America. Reagan termed the cessation of U.S. aid to the contras a terrible mistake. The President mentioned that Senator Robert Dole intends in the very near future to submit a draft law on resuming aid. Reagan called for support for Dole and requested that the House of Representatives expediently examine the draft law.

China

Report on NPC Delegation 18-28 Jul Visit

OW3107150088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] At the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a Chinese NPC [National People's Congress] delegation headed by Song Rufen, member of the NPC Standing Committee and vice chairman of the NPC Law Committee, made a working visit to the USSR from 18 to 28 July. This was the fourth Chinese NPC delegation to visit the USSR since the resumption of relations between the Soviet and Chinese parliaments in March 1985.

During the visit, the Chinese visitors familiarized themselves with the legislative affairs of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the operations of the highest legislatures of the Ukraine and Georgia republics. The Chinese parliamentarians also visited organs of the Soviet judiciary and had discussions with scientists and experts specializing in state and legal affairs.

Comrade Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Comrade Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and chairman of the Legislative Proposals Commission of the USSR Council of the Union, received the Chinese NPC delegation. It was pointed out at the meeting that the exchange of parliamentary delegations has become an important part of bilateral relations and is deepening bilateral cooperation and strengthening the friendship and mutual understanding between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

Uzbek Company Manager on Trade With Xinjiang

OW3007145188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 24 Jul 88

[Excerpts] It has been 3 years since the Uzbek SSR began border trade with China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. One of the reporters of this station interviewed (Iklanmov), general manager of Uzbek's foreign trade company, with regard to the present situation and prospects for trade between Uzbekistan and China.

The reporter said: It has been 3 months since you took the leading job with this foreign trade company of the Uzbek Government. You have signed an agreement with the Chinese side, involving a trade volume of R6.5 million, or 40.2 million yuan in renminbi, for this year. Please comment on this deal.

(Iklanmov) replied: This is a considerable deal, even in the foreign trade of the Soviet Union as a whole. For that reason, I think we started well. I hope we shall sign next year's trade contract with our Chinese counterparts at our next meeting in Tashkent in August or September this year. We shall discuss not only border trade, but also the possibility of direct relations between enterprises in Uzbekistan and Xinjiang, and of running joint ventures.

The reporter asked: What are the goods to be exchanged?

(Iklanmov) answered: The Chinese side is interested in mineral fertilizer and silk. We also export bicycles and Snow Brand refrigerators to China. What we import from China are thermal bottles, tungsten, and knitted goods. These products are particularly welcome in this republic. [passage omitted]

The reporter asked: You have just mentioned the possibility of running Uzbek-Chinese joint ventures in Uzbekistan. What kind of joint ventures are you talking about?

(Iklanmov) replied: We shall discuss with the Chinese side the establishment of leather processing plants, which use raw materials from Uzbekistan and process leather in accordance with the technology and specifications set by the Chinese side. It is also very possible that we shall set up such joint ventures as textile mills and garment factories using silk produced in Uzbekistan as raw material. According to the Chinese comrades, Xinjiang also deems it necessary to set up such joint ventures. Therefore, this question is worth further discussion. [passage omitted]

Northeast Asia

Japanese Prime Minister Gives Policy Speech

LD2907225288 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Tokyo July 29 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Kuchko reports:

Today Japanese Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita made a policy-setting speech at a special session of the country's parliament. He hailed new trends in relations between the East and the West, above all in Soviet-American relations, pointing also to positive changes in a settlement of regional conflicts. Japan, said the head of the cabinet, will further a peaceful settlement of regional problems and make a contribution to expanding an international cultural exchange.

The prime minister favoured the establishment with the USSR of relations of true mutual understanding. He said that his cabinet would continue diplomatic efforts in this direction and hoped also that the new policy pursued by the Soviet Union would be also reflected in Japanese-Soviet relations. At the same time Takeshita pointed out again that the position of the Japanese Government which links the development of stable goodneighbourly relations between the two countries with satisfaction of territorial claims to the USSR, remained unchanged.

Speaking of the top priorities of his cabinet's foreign policy, Takeshita pointed out that close cooperation with the United States and Western Europe was necessary for Japan to fulfil its growing role in the world community. Japanese-U.S. relations are the pivot of Japanese diplomacy, he said.

Takeshita called implementation of the tax system reform worked out by the government of liberal democrats the main task of domestic policy. It is based on an additional 3-percent sales tax on all goods and services, except the sphere of social security and education. Opposition parties and trade unions are against the new indirect tax, pointing out that it will result in price hikes on consumer goods.

Japan's Views on 'Soviet Threat' Refuted

OW0108032188 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] Kawara, Japanese Defense Agency director general, who is due to resign in connection with the sinking of a fishing boat by a Maritime Self-Defense Force submarine, is attributing the increase in the defense budget for next year to the continuing Soviet military buildup in the Far East. In this connection, military commentator Kalinin has the following to say:

The so-called Soviet threat in the Far East is one of the themes favored by Japan's military. However, this thinking is not only prevalent in the military. Prime Minister Takeshita expressed the same view in his remarks at the Toronto summit. I would like to examine if there are sufficient grounds for this view.

As is well known, the Soviet Union has agreed to abolish intermediate-range missiles in its Asian region in response to the hopes of Asian countries, including

Japan. In accordance with the treaty on the total abolition of intermediate-range nuclear forces, the scheduled dismantling of intermediate-range missiles will begin early next month. An important step is thus being taken to reduce the nuclear threat in the Far East.

In this connection, the Soviet Union has not sought a package deal such as the question of the presence of U.S. nuclear weapons in South Korea and other Far Eastern areas. The Soviet Union has not reinforced its ground troops in the Far East over the past several years. Moreover, the Soviet Union has reduced its ground troops on the Soviet-Chinese border, and some Soviet forces were pulled out of Mongolia last year. And the size and frequency of military exercises in the Far East Military District have been reduced.

The situation in the Pacific has also drawn a lot of attention. According to data prepared by the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces concerning Soviet and U.S. naval forces in the region, the United States has more than 3 times as many war ships, 8 times as many multipurpose nuclear-powered submarines carrying intermediate-range cruise missiles, and 10 times as many carrier-based airplanes than Soviet Union. In addition, the number of U.S. Marines in the Pacific is over 27 times that of Soviet counterparts.

Intensified U.S. military activities in the region is also drawing attention. The U.S. 7th Fleet is reinforcing ships carrying Tomahawk cruise missiles. U.S. nuclear-powered submarines carrying nuclear weapons continue to call at Japanese ports. Last year alone, these submarines called at Japanese ports on 40 occasions. The U.S. 3d Fleet is also stepping up its activities, expanding its operational area to the northwestern part of the Pacific. Along with these activities, the number and size of military exercises are also on the increase. Japan's Maritime Self-Defense Force participates in some of these exercises. These military exercises reportedly involve aggressive operations against the Kuril Islands and Sakhalin.

Despite these facts, why does the Japanese Government continue to utter the words, Soviet threat? To answer this question, I would like to cite Tokyo University Professor Inokuchi's remarks which were carried in the ASAHI EVENING NEWS. Prof Inokuchi said that without the Soviet threat, the Japanese Government would find it difficult to win special trust in its efforts to build up defense power. Far-fetched allegations, designed to justify war, will not help promote trust in Japanese Government policy among Asian and Pacific countries.

Exclusion of Soviets From Japanese Talks Scored

OW3007154288 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] Two years have now elapsed since General Secretary Gorbachev put forth a new Soviet policy on Asia and the Pacific region in his speech in Vladivostok. In this connection, Radio Moscow commentator Dmitriyev has the following to say:

An informal consultation among the parties concerned with the Cambodian conflict was held in Indonesia. This clearly shows that the political climate in Asia has turned favorably in the past 2 years. Repesentatives from many countries attended the consultation and this indicates that General Secretary Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok in 1986 calling for international cooperation in resolving regional issues was neither premature nor too idealistic. The time is ripe for such international cooperation in Asia and the Pacific region. The sooner political leaders in the region recognize this fact, the more effectively tension in Asia will be eased. An international conference to discuss such agenda items as strengthening of security and promotion of economic, cultural, and other relations will serve as the best form of regional cooperation.

In advocating this international conference plan, the Soviet Union is not pressing preconditions on any country in the region. Preconditions will only complicate this plan. To our regret, however, there is a lack of reciprocity in approaches toward the holding of an international conference for regional cooperation. For example, a Japanese official source has rejected the plan for holding an international conference on grounds that the the so-called northern territorial issue remains unresolved. Can we allow a bilateral difference to hamper the resolution of the most important issues involving security and cooperation, issues that are vital to the whole region? We think it is appropriate that a bilateral issue that has no direct bearing on international security be discussed outside the regional meeting.

If there is a serious difference of opinion among countries on some issues, it still should not hamper a conference concerning Asia and the Pacific region. At any rate, the Soviet Union does not think that it will become a hampering factor. Speaking at a seminar for Soviet diplomats in June, Foreign Minister Shevardnadze said it is natural that various views come out when issues related to a nation's destiny are discussed. His remarks can be applied to Asia and the Pacific region, where many peoples are living and forging their common destiny despite their uniqueness and differences.

When we reflect on what effect bilateral relations should have on regional problems, we will deepen the belief that bilateral relations should be used as constructively as possible for the resolution of regional issues. For example, it is beyond doubt that the recent improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations has brought about a favorable change in the political climate throughout East Asia. At present, the Soviet Union and China are regularly holding political consultations and talks of their economic cooperation committee. The two countries have also resumed negotiations on their borders. These and other favorable changes represent a striking contrast to the tense relations existing between the two countries in the early 1980's.

The Soviet plan for a conference on Asia and the Pacific region has another fundamental aspect, and that is the comprehensive nature of the conference in terms of the composition of the participating countries. It seems that in Asia and the Pacific region, there are no longer any countries that have no power of influence. Therefore, if a country in this area is excluded from a meeting, any decision at the gathering will, first, have no binding effect and thereby become impossible to execute. Second, the decision itself will be regarded as invalid. In this connection, it should be particularly pointed out that any restrictions on the composition of participating countries in whatever international conference will consequently characterize the meeting as a forum of a closed political bloc—that is, the meeting will represent a bloc that harbors ill feeling toward non-participating countries.

According to a KYODO report in June, Prime Minister Takeshita appears to be attempting to exclude the Soviet Union from his plan on the Asia and Pacific summit meeting. In addition, during his recent visit to the Soviet Union former Prime Minister Nakasone failed to name the Soviet Union when he touched on his concept on mutual relations in the region at his talks with General Secretary Gorbachev.

Needless to say, such a position does not represent the overall approach of countries in Asia and the Pacific region. For example, at a meeting in the United States in June this year, Australian Prime Minister Hawke expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would participate in the effort for political and economic development in Asia and the Pacific region.

In this connection, we naturally recall General Secretary Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech in July 1986. He stressed that the Soviet Union was hoping exactly for such constructive participation. TOKYO SHIMBUN said on the next day of his speech that Soviet strategy was aimed at maintaining peace and stability in Asia. This aim itself and Soviet-proposed means to attain it do not run counter to the interests of any country in Asia and the Pacific region.

Soviet, DPRK Foreign Ministry Aides Confer

PM0108135988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Soviet-Korean consultations on questions of Soviet-DPRK relations and international problems of mutual interest were held at the USSR Foreign Ministry 28-30 July.

Pak Kon-po, head of the Korean delegation and chief of the DPRK Foreign Ministry's Third Bureau, was received by B.N. Chaplin, USSR deputy foreign minister.

DPRK Ships Arrive in Vladivostok 29 Jul

LD2907142488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Vladivostok—A detachment of DPRK naval ships comprising a torpedo-boat, two patrol boats, and an auxiliary ship, under the flag of DPRK Navy Commander Admiral Kim In-chol today arrived in Vladivostok on an official friendly visit. The guests were met by representatives of the command of the Red Banner Pacific Ocean fleet, the city's public, and men of the military garrison. The DPRK sailors will take part in celebrations devoted to USSR Armed Forces Day.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Bomb Explodes at Soviet Fishing Office in Manila

OW3107161188 Beijing XINHUA in English 1333 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Manila, July 31 (XINHUA)—A powerful explosion shattered the glass windows of the Filipino-Soviet (Filsov) Shipping Lines office in Manila yesterday evening, the military said today.

No one was hurt in the explosion, the PHILIPPINE NEWS AGENCY quoted the military as saying.

Two Russian naval officers in the vicinity were unhurt.

Filsov is a joint business venture between Philippine and Soviet businessmen in the country. Its office is located on the fifth floor of the ECJ Condominium Building in Intramuros Street, Metro Manila.

A security officer of Filsov told reporters that a night guard saw what appeared to be "a flare with parachutes" swaying towards the fifth floor of the building before the blast.

Military and police investigators could not pinpoint the motive and responsibility for the explosion.

Colonel Manuel Oxales, deputy chief of the National Capital Region Defense Command (NCRDC), told reporters that the blast, believed caused by an incendiary bomb, could be the handiwork of the ultra-rightist elements belonging to rebel military forces.

The incident came a day after NCRDC agents swooped down on a suspected safehouse of commando forces loyal to former President Marcos in Caloocan City, Metro Manila, and seized a large cache of explosives and firearms.

Police officials are investigating the incident.

Official Outlines Philippine Economic Projects

HK2707103988 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 25 Jul 88 p 13

[By Margie Quimpo]

[Text] The Soviet Union has reiterated its readiness to back the Philippines' economic recovery efforts with a multi-million dollar assistance package consisting of loans, grants and technical aid.

Reiteration of the Soviet offer follows the Philippine Government's announcement of a planned visit to Moscow by President Aquino.

It also comes at a time when the U.S.-initiated $10 billion mini-Marshall Plan for the Philippines remains highly doubtful.

In an exclusive interview by the INQUIRER, Soviet trade representative in Manila Vladimir V. Zverev outlined several projects which Moscow had offered to undertake for the Philippine Government.

Foremost is the offer to build a coal-fired thermal plant in Isabela, north of Manila with a planned power capacity of 420 megawatts.

Another is a cement plant on Semirara Island where coal is presently mined.

The Soviets have also offered to contract maintenance services for its merchant fleet which could easily generate $10 million annually.

Soviet vessels have been denied access to the Philseco [expansion unknown] ship repair yard off the U.S. Navy base in Subic for fear that they would engage in intelligence gathering activity.

Soviet companies, according to Zverev, are willing to enter into viable projects with local entrepreneurs.

The power plant in Isabela was proposed to be undertaken by a consortium headed by Finn Stroi Ltd. of Finland and Tekhnopromeksport of the USSR.

A memorandum of understanding had already been signed by Soviet officials and the National Power Corp. in February 1987. The study on the project was finished last June 1987.

Under the original plan, construction was to have started at the end of last year. The estimated construction period was 12 to 18 months.

However, the government froze the project for still unknown reasons.

But Zverev said their offer stands.

The Russians are willing to accept products and services as payment for the power loan.

National Power officials said however that the transmission lines from the proposed plant site would be costly. Instead, they said they would first give priority to the development of geothermal sources.

On the cement plant, a protocol agreement had also been signed by then Philippine Trade and Industry Minister Roberto V. Ongpin and Soviet chairman for the Committee on Economic Cooperation on Foreign Affairs S. Skachov some years ago.

The plant's capacity was set at one million tons a year or 16.666 million 60-kilo-bags.

On ship repair, the last time a Soviet ship was repaired in a local yard was in July 1985.

Soviet ships are currently serviced by facilities in Singapore where they spend from $70 to $80 million annually.

Also used are shipyards in Japan, Thailand, and Sri Lanka.

Further Reportage on Bogor Meeting on Cambodia

Nikolayev Views Peace Plan

BK2907103288 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 28 July 88

[Station commentator Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] At the informal meeting in Bogor, Indonesia, the representatives of the SRV, PRK, and the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] drafted a proposal aimed at transforming Southeast Asia into a region of peace, stability, and cooperation. Our commentator Nikolayev writes:

First of all, this proposal is aimed at eliminating the core of regional tension; namely, the conflict in Cambodia. This concrete initiative is detailed in a plan proposed by Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers. Following the path of national reconciliation, the PRK has proposed the formation of a national reconciliation council headed by Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, a general election, the drafting of a new constitution, and the creation of a coalition government. The PRK Government will remain until a general election is concluded in the country.

The PRK also proposed the establishment of an international commission to supervise and control the implementation of all concluded agreements and to convene an international conference to guarantee the independence, sovereignty, and neutrality of Cambodia in its status as a nonaligned state. As far as the Vietnamese Army volunteers are concerned, they must be completely withdrawn from Cambodia by the end of 1989, or at the latest by the first quarter of 1990, under the framework of a cessation of all foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cambodia. Cambodian internal affairs must be resolved by the Cambodian parties themselves on the basis of national reconciliation and the elimination of the Pol Pot gang. The proposal on resolving the Cambodian issue delivered by Comrade Hun Sen was fully upheld by the SRV and the LPDR.

At the same time, SRV Foreign Minister Comrade Nguyen Co Thach and LPDR Foreign Minister Comrade Khaikhamphithoun outlined their views on the measures to be taken to ensure peace, stability, and cooperation in Southeast Asia. Comrade Nguyen Co Thach stressed that the objective of resolving the Cambodian problem under the structure of creating a regional peace zone was unsuccessful due to the absence of mutual trust between the ASEAN countries and the three countries of Indochina. However, the situation is now becoming more favorable. For his part, the acting LPDR foreign minister underlined the point that the Bogor informal meeting is very important for improving mutual understanding and overcoming disagreements. He expressed hope that another meeting would be arranged in the future. The Lao representative also emphasized the improvement in peaceful relations with neighboring countries. With this as the objective, he proposed the holding of annual meetings and consultations among Southeast Asia countries. He also proposed that no antagonistic military alliances be set up either with the participation of countries in the region or outside the region. All disagreements and conflicts should be settled politically.

The attitude of the three Indochinese countries is very clear. The proposal of the SRV, PRK, and LPDR has brought to light the peace plan for Southeast Asia. Now it is up to the other party to make their decision.

Informal Meeting Praised

BK3007075988 Moscow in Indonesian to Indonesia 1300 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The informal meeting on Cambodia has ended in Bogor. The four Cambodian factions and the interested regional countries participated in the meeting.

At a closing press conference, the Indonesian foreign minister issued a concluding statement with the approval of all the participants of the Bogor meeting. He stressed that in a constructive and goodwill atmosphere during the meeting, all the participants recognized the need for an immediate solution to the Cambodian issue by political means. The goal of such a solution is the establishment of an independent, sovereign, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia on the basis of self-determination and national reconciliation. However, the key to a solution to this issue is, according to Ali Alatas, the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, the prevention of the return of the genocidal Pol Pot regime to Cambodia, an end to foreign interference, and an end to arms delivery to the warring Cambodian forces. The meeting also recognized the need to further discuss problems upon which all the parties still disagree. To this end, a working group will be established to examine various aspects of a political solution. By December, the group must give recommendations on the convening of a new meeting.

Commenting on the results of the informal meeting in Bogor, the mass media of Southeast Asian countries noted the positive nature of the meeting as a whole. In principle, the Cambodian factions eventually sat at the negotiating table and recognized the need to settle the issue solely by political means. Certainly, a first step has been taken to settle the Cambodian issue. Now, they need to do as much as possible so that political dialogue on the Cambodian issue will not break down.

Outcome 'Surpassed' Expectations

PM2907134088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Foundations Laid for a Settlement"]

[Text] Jakarta, 28 Jul—The informal meeting on a settlement of the Cambodian situation ended in Bogor today. A decision was adopted to set up a working party made up of high-ranking representatives of all the participating sides to study specific aspects of a political settlement of the Cambodian problem.

As the statement by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who chaired the discussion, stresses, all the participants agreed on the need to seek a political settlement of the Cambodian problem and thereby contribute to establishing peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The participants in the meeting, the statement says, share the opinion that the key interconnected issues in the Cambodian problem are the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, which should take place in the context of an all-embracing political settlement, the prevention of a repetition in future of the Pol Pot regime's policy and practice of genocide, and also the ending of all foreign interference in Cambodia's internal affairs and of deliveries of weapons from abroad to Cambodian opposition forces.

The leaders of the "Khmers Rouges," Hun Sen, chairman of the PRK Council of Ministers, stated at a press conference today on the results of the meeting, have rejected all proposals on settling the Cambodian problem by political means that were agreed between the three other Cambodian sides. Among other things, they rejected the PRK's initiative on setting up a national reconcilation council headed by Norodom Sihanouk, who had accepted that proposal. Thus it has become obvious that the "Khmer Rouge" leaders do not want to promote national reconciliation in Cambodia.

The results of the informal meeting in Bogor surpassed our expectations, SRV Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach noted. The foundations were laid for a political settlement of the Cambodian problem, including two key elements, namely: the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from the PRK and the prevention of the restoration of the Pol Pot genocide regime. The results of the meeting will undoubtedly accelerate the process of peaceful settlement of the Cambodian problem, and the last quarter of 1988 will be decisive.

'Important Step' Achieved

LD3007090688 Moscow TASS in English 0738 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 30 TASS—By TASS news analyst Aleksandr Kondrashov:

It seems that the new political thinking, which is gaining momentum in Europe, is making its way in the Asian Continent as well. The informal meeting to settle the situation relating to Kampuchea, held in the Indonesian town of Bogor near Jakarta, bears evidence to this. Although the evaluations of the results of this forum are a mixture of optimistic and restrained statements, one thing is certain: For the first time everyone felt a real possibility of ending the bloodshed on the much-suffering Kampuchean soil and regarded the Bogor meeting as an important step towards that goal.

Progress at the meeting of representatives of four Kampuchean sides, as well as Vietnam, Laos and ASEAN countries, did not come about all by itself. It was first and foremost the result of a constructive, largely compromise political line of three states in Indochina, the line which is a graphic proof of a sincere concern for the well-being and peaceful life of the Kampuchean people. One cannot help notice the contribution of ASEAN countries, Indonesia in the first place, which created favourable conditions making the meeting possible.

The constructive line of the countries of Indochina on preparing the meeting was continued in the course of the meeting as well. The proposals made in Bogor by Laos to ensure external conditions for the peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean problem and, especially, the seven-point programme of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which maps out a realistic, compromise way to solving Kampuchea's internal problems, had a great impact on the positions of the participants in the meeting, including the Kampuchean groups led by Sihanouk and Son San. They did not make any objections of principle to the programme proposed by the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The position of Pol Pot men who rejected the proposals was a sticking point on the way to the earliest settlement of the conflict. Thus they showed once again that they cared little about peace and the well-being of their people. However, there are positive sides to this obstructionist steps. If earlier many ASEAN countries and, especially, Western mass media preferred "not to notice" the militant extremism of the 'Red Khmers", today, judging by the reaction of the participants in the meeting, the Pol Pot men found themselves in complete isolation.

It has become clear today, as never before, that the termination of military aid to the armed groups of Pol Pot would have been the largest contribution to ensuring peace on Kampuchean land. All the initiatives and the acts of goodwill made before by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and People's Kampuchea convince that that step would habe been followed on their part by constructive compromise actions in response.

The Soviet Union is also prepared to make its contribution to eliminating a serious flashpoint of tension in Southeast Asia. As the Soviet side stressed, the Soviet Union is ready to become a guarantor of the agreements on the Kampuchean settlement, in the hope that other great powers will follow its example as well.

'Observer' on Outcome

BK0108034088 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 31 July 88

[PRAVDA observer commentary]

[Text] There has been an important step taken toward resolving the Cambodian problem politically. The SRV and Indonesia's initiative for arranging a meeting among all antagonistic parties has provided not only anticipated results but also, in some respect, something beyond expectation. In my opinion, this is how people should assess the outcome of the meeting which took place in Bogor, Indonesia. We are happy to note that discussions and exchange of views took place in a constructive way at this meeting. The concerned parties put forward unambiguous proposals which provided the possibility of bringing their positions closer to each other, toward a compromise acceptable to each party.

This is the first time that the participants in the Bogor meeting unanimously agreed on two interrelated key questions: the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, and the authentic guarantee preventing the return to power of the Pol Pot gang together with cessation of providing armaments from outside to the forces opposing Cambodia. This observation is a firm basis for the settlement of the Cambodian problem by political means. From Bogor, one can move forward in this direction.

However, Khieu Samphan, representative of the Pol Pot gang, obstructed the realization of the planned agreement. Not only did Khieu Samphan not produce any constructive propositions, he also blocked the way to setting up a national reconciliation council headed by Samdech Sihanouk and other measures which various parties were about to take. However, they jointly agreed to establish working groups to study the conflicting aspects of the political solution to the Cambodian problem. By December, the commission for studying state affairs should present recommendations on arranging future meetings.

What contributed to the fair progress of the Bogor meeting was the constructive stance of Phnom Penh and Hanoi; namely, the readiness of both parties to repatriate all Vietnamese volunteer forces by the end of 1989 if the groups opposing the government no longer receive foreign aid and the Pol Pot group is disarmed.

As noted by by Ali Alatas, Indonesian foreign minister and chairman of the Bogor meeting, official representatives of Moscow, Beijing, and Washington have told him about their respective states' interest in resolving the Cambodian problem peacefully and their readiness to promote this process. According to the Indonesian foreign minister, the goodwill stand of the three superpowers has created warm optimism.

In conclusion, this PRAVDA observer would like to add that, in my opinion, the Bogor meeting has not only helped national reconciliation in Cambodia but has also consolidated the atmosphere of mutual trust between the Indochinese and ASEAN countries. It has widened the path toward changing Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation and declaring it a nuclear-free zone. This will certainly contribute to normalizing the political situation in the entire Asia-Pacific region.

Outgoing Soviet Envoy Outlines View of Asia

BK2907101588 Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 0741 GMT 29 Jul 88

[By Ghazemy Mahmud]

[Text] Kuala Lumpur, July 29 (OANA-BERNAMA)—The Soviet Union will benefit from a stable and peaceful Southeast Asia because it intends to develop better economic ties with the countries in the region, outgoing Soviet Ambassador to Malaysia F. Potapenko said Friday.

"The Soviet Union is basically an Asian country, two thirds of the country is in Asia, and we also belong to the Pacific Rim," he said in a farewell interview here.

Potopenko said the Soviet Union was currently working on a programme for the development of Siberia and the Far Eastern regions.

"We are directly interested," he said commenting on the spate of Soviet diplomatic moves in the region for the past few years.

"We have a huge stockpile of resources that should be tapped in those regions, and we have one of the largest merchant fleets in the world. We cannot do without Southeast Asia and the Pacific," he added.

He said the Vladivostok peace initiatives had also a lot to do with increased Soviet diplomatic moves in the region.

The idea of the nuclear free zone was generally accepted by most of the countries in the region, he added.

On trade between Malaysia and the Soviet Union, he hoped it would increase in the next few years.

On the question of foreign military bases in the region, Potapenko replied: "What can I say, we are reducing our military activities and presence in the region."

"We should think to find ways to reduce and totally eliminate foreign military presence in the region," he said, adding that there should be no problem for the Soviet Union to leave the region if everyone else did the same.

The Soviet Union has military facilities in Danang and Cam Ranh, Vietnam, while the United States has bases in Subic and Clark, the Philippines.

Bovin Assesses Recent Burmese Politics

LD3107203488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Jul 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Aleksandr Bovin]

[Text] If you do not want to say something good about a country, and if it is deemed inexpedient for certain reasons to say bad things, then it is better to say nothing at all. Whole countries disappear from newspaper columns and television screens. This concerns not only Somalia and Albania, for example, but Burma too. We do not say or write anything about Burma, but the country exists nonetheless.

Beginning last September student unrest has been dying down and then flaring up again there; there has been religious unrest, Buddhists began beating up Muslims. All this displays the rather deep dissatisfaction that is gripping different sectors of the public in this country. For 4 decades, 40 years, a civil war and conflicts between the numerous ethnic groups have been going on in Burma. Many antigovernment groups have over this time degenerated into gangster type bands that rob the population and make their fortune trading in opium.

In order to bring order to the country, 26 years ago the Army seized power. But order did not result. Recently an open letter was being handed round Rangoon by one of the organizers of the military takeover, former Brigadier-General (?Taunzhi) to General Ne Win, the leader of the [word indistinct].

The letter began: Esteemed General, I am 70 years old and you are 77. We have no time left for rhetoric. On 2 March 1962, in an attempt to end the deteriorating situation, the Army seized power and formed a revolutionary council. The fact that the situation in the country since then has been wretched is clear to anyone who does not cultivate illusions. The country has turned out to be at the very bottom in political, economic, and social terms.

The general is right. Officially Burma belongs to the group of the least developed countries in the world. The time for change has obviously come. The extraordinary congress of the Burma Socialist Program Party that took place last Saturday, Saturday last week, accepted the retirement of Gen Ne Win, the chairman of this party's Central Committee and President U San Yu. Moreover, addressing the congress Ne Win proposed that a referendum be held in September on whether the one-party system should be preserved in Burma or whether it should be replaced with a multiparty system. But the congress did not adopt this proposal. It rejected it. At the same time, the congress approved quite a broad program of economic reforms, which includes an expansion of the opportunities for private enterprise, liberalization of trade, and attracting foreign capital.

It is possible that an end is coming to the period of an authoritarian military dictatorship, blatant corruption, the period of impoverishment of the country, and Burma's artificial isolation from the world economy and world politics. Although it is true that the election of Ne Win's successor, former General Sein Lwin, a well-known advocate of hardline politics, preserves an atmosphere of uncertainty and instability in the country.

Of course, none of this concerns us. But we have something to think about here too. Do we not deceive ourselves too often with debates about socialism, and socialist orientation in Third World countries? Have we not cultivated illusions all too often, taking what we wished to be the case to be reality? Excuse me but Pol Pot was also building socialism. Evidently it is necessary to distinguish more strictly between words, statements, between assurances of friendship with the Soviet Union and the real state of affairs, real politics. However, this conversation is already exceeding the limits of "International Panorama," here we need another panorama, a talk about the theory of social changes, global changes in the social structure of the world.

Near East & South Asia

Diplomatic Relations Established With Qatar

LD0108112588 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—Follows the full text of a joint communique on establishing diplomatic relations between the USSR and Qatar:

"Joint communique on establishing diplomatic relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the State of Qatar. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the State of Qatar, guided by the striving to strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, have decided to establish diplomatic relations, in effect on the date of signing this joint communique, and to exchange diplomatic representatives at ambassadorial level.

"Both sides express conviction that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the State of Qatar and an exchange of ambassadors will promote the development of international cooperation and the strengthening of world peace.

"The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the State of Qatar reaffirm their readiness to build bilateral relations in accordance with U.N. Charter, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality, mutual respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

"[Signed] For the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: O. Krivonogov, charge d'affaires ad interim of the USSR in France

"For the State of Qatar: A. al-'Attiyah, plenipotentiary of Qatar in France

"Paris, August 1, 1988"

Iraqi Envoy, Vorontsov Discuss Gulf War

LD3007125088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1210 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jul (TASS)—Today Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet first deputy minister of foreign affairs, received S.A.M. al-Faysal, ambassador of the Republic of Iraq to the Soviet Union, at the latter's request.

Their conversation took place in an atmosphere of friendliness and frankness characteristic of Soviet-Iraqi relations. It involved an exchange of opinions concerning the swiftest possible conclusion of the Iranian-Iraqi conflict and the attainment of a peaceful political settlement on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 598.

U.S. Stand on Gulf Withdrawal Assailed

LD3107093588 Moscow TASS in English 0918 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—Political settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict has got off ground at long last, the newspaper PRAVDA writes in its international review today. Tehran has recently accepted the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 598 providing for restoration of peace.

The Security Council's resolution outlines the main ways for ending the war, the newspaper recalls. The conflicting sides should put an end to all hostilities and withdraw their troops to internationally recognized frontiers.

Immediate release and repatriation of prisoners of war is also envisaged. The settlement of the conflict should be comprehensive, fair and honourable, the document says.

It is now extremely necessary to stop military actions, that is to make the first real step towards peace, the newspaper says. The U.N. secretary general's plan provides for the date of the ceasefire to be set right after the return of military experts sent to Iran and Iraq. In accordance with Resolution 598, the decision on this date may be taken even without consultations with the conflicting sides.

The emergent possibility of settlement of the conflict puts on the order of the day anew also the question of relieving the Persian Gulf area of foreign military presence, PRAVDA underlines. But what is Washington's attitude to that? According to the U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci, only some reduction in the U.S. naval forces in the Persian Gulf in the future is admissible. As to the complete withdrawal of the U.S. naval forces from the Persian Gulf, this is out of the question, as was clear from the defence secretary's statement. The stand is, softly speaking, non-constructive.

Processes, marked with the awareness of the need for resolving acute questions of international relations by political means, are now taking place in the world, the newspaper writes. The USSR has exerted quite an effort towards settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, and that brought results in the form of the Geneva agreements. Much has been done by Soviet diplomacy to see to it that the Iran-Iraq confrontation be put into the channel of peaceful negotiations. Now that there is an obvious positive change, one deems as particularly important such factors as reason and political responsibility not only on the part of the warring sides, but also Washington, the newspaper writes.

Perfilyev Comments on Visiting Israeli Group

PM0108112588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with V.P. Perfilyev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration, by own correspondent B. Ivanov: "Israeli Foreign Ministry Officials in Moscow"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] A visit to Moscow by several Israeli Foreign Ministry officials was reported at a recent briefing at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center. Because this visit gave rise to many questions and rumors, IZVESTIYA's correspondent approached V.P. Perfilyev, deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration.

[Ivanov] What are the aims and tasks of the Israeli delegation?

[Perfilyev] First, I would not call the group that arrived on 28 July a delegation. We are talking about a few consular officials from the Israeli Foreign Ministry who came on a limited technical mission—namely, to familiarize themselves with the activity of the Netherlands Embassy department for protecting Israeli interests in the USSR. The Israeli side has confirmed it gave its consent to the limited technical nature of the visit.

[Ivanov] What specifically will the group members be doing?

[Perfilyev] Since the Israeli officials are visiting not us but their colleagues in the Netherlands Embassy, your question would clearly be better addressed to them. During this time they will be attached to that embassy. If necessary, they will be able to have contacts with representatives of our ministry's Consular Administration.

[Ivanov] How many people are in the group?

[Perfilyev] Six. It is headed by M. Gordon, adviser at the Israeli Embassy in Rome.

[Ivanov] How long will they be staying in the USSR?

[Perfilyev] They have been given visas for 2 months.

[Ivanov] A similar group of our own has now been in Israel for more than a year. Is there not some imbalance here?

[Perfilyev] There should not be any symmetry over this. Our group's tasks in Israel include the protection and legal safeguarding of real estate in that country belonging to the Soviet Government. Moreover, many Soviet citizens who live in Israel have a whole number of problems which they can only solve with the help of Soviet consular officials. Israel has no property on Soviet territory, nor are there any Israeli citizens permanently residing on our territory. That is why the Israeli group's task is quite different—it is narrower and purely technical.

[Ivanov] There have been claims in the foreign press that this trip is virtually a step along the road to a restoration of diplomatic relations...

[Perfilyev] Let me make it clear straightaway: These claims do not correspond to reality. I would like to reaffirm that our approach to the normalization of the question of USSR-Israeli relations remains unchanged, and it is well known. The Soviet Union will be prepared to deal with the question of normalizing ties with Israel after a serious and effective international conference on the Near East is initiated. We have repeatedly stated this, to the Israeli side among others.

[Ivanov] There has been talk in the West of some kind of "turnaround" in Soviet Near East policy. Is that so?

[Perfilyev] The main aim of Soviet foreign policy in that region remains unchanged: attaining a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Near East conflict based on balancing the interests of all sides—the Arabs and Israel. Within the framework of new political thinking, Soviet diplomacy is persistently seeking ways of resolving conflict situations in various parts of the world. The Near East is a priority region in this respect. The Soviet Union has recently stepped up its diplomatic activity in Near East affairs considerably, and it has been collaborating with the broadest range of states to convene an international conference on the Near East with the participation of all interested sides, including Israel and the PLO.

[Ivanov] Western radio voices are also using the Israeli group's visit to claim that the Soviet side has allegedly agreed to set up a so-called "direct link" for emigration to Israel. What can you say about that score?

[Perfilyev] Your question is clearly prompted by the fact that many of those who obtain Israeli visas prefer to go to other countries rather than Israel. Only a minority reaches Israel. In this connection, plans clearly have been put forward for types of "direct links" to have emigres proceed directly to Israel. However, we have nothing to do with these plans, for we in no way lay down specific conditions or routes to be followed by citizens leaving the USSR. So, we have no plans to participate in setting up "links" of this kind.

Bovin Views Israelis' Tasks

LD3107204688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Jul 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Aleksandr Bovin]

[Text] [Bovin] Five or six representatives of the Israeli Foreign Ministry have arrived in our country. What will they be doing? Primarily they want to acquaint themselves with the work of the section of the Embassy of the Netherlands in Moscow that engages in officially registering Jews leaving the Soviet Union. Second, they want to acquaint themselves with the condition of a house, the building that formerly housed the Israeli Embassy. They continue to rent this house, they pay for it. These are their tasks.

Current Relations With Israel Assessed

PM2907135888 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 30, 24 Jul 88 p 6

[Aleksandr Zotov article under the rubric "Soviet-Israeli Relations": "Taking Account of All Realities"]

[Text] I met with Gideon Rafael several times at international forums and was impressed with his tough approach, which stems for many years of involvement in UN discussions.

I would hate to portray Gideon Rafael as a diplomatic duellist and to harm his reputation as an expert on international relations. But I can see how elegantly he deleted all "extraneous" facts pertaining to the background of developments in the Middle East and to Soviet-Israeli relations. The result is a framework into which he conveniently fits his main proposition: "The Soviet Union had the misfortune to side with the Arabs in the past, while today there is every reason to restore diplomatic relations with Israel."

The USSR is on record as playing an active part in UN attempts to solve the future of Palestine, which remained under British mandate till May 15, 1948. But Soviet UN delegates stressed something that G. Rafael passed over in silence: "The core of the issue is the right of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Jews and Arabs to self-determination."

The Soviet Union voted for the division of Palestine only after all efforts had failed to establish a democratic binational state there. Already at that time battle cries could be heard from both sides, and while the Arab armies were preparing to attack the budding Jewish state, the other side launched a campaign to terrorize the Arab population and oust it in a bid to establish as "clean" a Jewish state as possible. The tragedy of the Arab village of Dayr Yasin whose residents were massacred by hitmen belonging to extremist Zionist organizations in April 1948 is graphic testimony.

We should recall that UN General Assembly Resolution No. 181 (II), in the part dealing with Palestine which provides a legal basis for the establishment of the state of Israel, also provided for the establishment of an Arab Palestinian state, and this is the cause of Palestinians are still fighting for. The references to "cold war winds" and the lack of a common objective on the part of the great powers are perhaps just. But this is not the only factor in the way of a solution of the Middle East problem.

Israel had already torpedoed attempts to embark on a process of political settlement by declining to honour UN Security Council Resolution No. 194 (III) December 11, 1948, on the repatriation of the Arab refugees who wanted to return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbours. De facto, Israel annexed parts of the proposed Arab state it had captured during the hostilities by transferring its capital to Western Jerusalem (the city was to be internationalized in line with the UN decision).

G. Rafael passes over in silence the issue of aggression by Britain, France and Israel against Egypt in the autumn of 1956, which incensed the world and motivated the Soviet Union to condemn that action. (The Soviet Ambassador to Israel was temporarily recalled.) This event did not help Soviet-Israeli relations, coming straight after the reversal caused by the "doctors-murderers case", G. Rafael mentions. Then there was the terrorist action committed against the Soviet Embassy in Tel Aviv in February 1953.

The diplomatic rift with Israel in 1967 can be viewed differently. I believe that this action on the part of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries (with the exception of Romania) can't be assessed out of the context and logic of the developments predating the Israeli aggression. There are diplomatic documents pertaining to the spring of 1967, when the USSR repeatedly pointed to the danger of Israel's preparations for a blow against Syria and warned that it would act in the most resolute manner. (A. Kosygin's letters to Israel's Prime Minister L. Eshkol and US President L. Johnson, the discussions in Moscow with Israel's Ambassador K. Katz). If you read these and recall the unproductive efforts by the Security Council to arrange a ceasefire and pullout of Israeli forces, and the heightened reaction in this country, mainly anti-Israel and pro-Arab, it becomes obvious that the dramatic denunciation of Israel's behaviour by this country was unavoidable.

After 1967, Israel followed a fait accompli policy, repeatedly condemned by the UN and the world community; the annexation of Eastern Jerusalem, Syria's Golan Heights, the colonization of the Palestinian Western Bank of the Jordan River. The separate Camp David peace with Egypt was "compensated for" by Israel's attack on Lebanon in 1982 and the establishment of control over part of the country's south in violation of the express resolution of the UN Security Council on a speedy and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops. The world remembers the Beirut siege, the Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila. (It is also hard to forget the outrageous behaviour of the Israeli troops who invaded the USSR Embassy in Beirut.)

The Soviet Union never viewed Israel as a hostile state and was never prejudiced against its people. No temporary political considerations motivated Soviet leaders to accept or encourage the idea of that country's "illegitimacy". In its contacts with Israeli leaders, and publicly, Moscow on repeated occasions voiced its readiness to discuss restoration of diplomatic relations, but only provided the abnormalities in the Middle East situation, responsible for the abnormal state of Soviet-Israeli relations, were removed.

My feeling is that Israel should seriously review its refusal to have peace talks with its neighbours at an international conference and recognize at last that talks on the Palestine problem can only be held with legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people (Palestinians almost overwhelmingly support the PLO). A peaceful start to the peace process at such a conference would be a breakthrough enabling the arrival in Moscow of an Israeli Ambassador.

Israeli Urges New Ties

PM2907135488 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 30, 24 Jul 88 p 6

[Article by former Israeli UN Ambassador Gideon Rafael under the rubric "Soviet-Israeli Relations": "Time for Restructuring"]

[Text] Forty years ago when Great Britain, constrained to divest itself of its rule in Palestine, submitted to the United Nations the determination of its future, the representative of the Soviet Union stated: "During World War II the total number of the Jewish population who perished at the hands of the Nazi executioners is estimated at approximately six million.... In view of what the Jewish people have undergone, it would be unjustifiable to deny them the right to establish their own state.... The Jewish people have been closely linked with Palestine for a considerable period in history."

Thus spoke Andrey Gromyko, at the time Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union to the United Nations. The United States shared these views and both countries voted together for the UN decision favouring the establishment of a Jewish and an Arab state in partitioned Palestine.

The Palestinian delegation rejected the UN verdict with scorn. Their spokesman proclaimed that "the line of partition will be a line of blood and fire". His battle cry heralded the longest armed conflict in modern history.

The five fully equipped Arab armies which attacked the Jewish state in 1948 were confronted by 600,000 Jews living then in the country. They fought not only for the existence of Israel, but for the physical survival of its citizens.

In the course of time the United States and the Soviet Union who had stood at the cradle of the newborn Jewish state, parted ways and erred for 40 years through the wilderness of adversity, like the children of Israel after their exodus from Egypt on the way to the promised land.

In the Middle East the ill winds of the cold war fanned the smoldering fires of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Only when they bursted into an open conflagration, American and Soviet diplomacy joined forces to quench it through coordinated action in the UN Security Council, decreeing to stop the fighting, but not to end the war by peaceful settlement. For this the two powers lacked the political will and common purpose.

While the Arab side enjoyed the favours of both, Israel-Soviet relations began to decline when in the early 1950s the Soviet Union shifted its policy from an even-handed attitude towards both parties to one-sided support of the Arab states.

But what strained the relations between the Soviet Union and Israel more than anything else were the sinister allegations, in the dying days of the Stalin regime, that Jewish Soviet doctors, as instruments of a plot by world Jewry, were conspiring against the life of their high-ranking patients. The fierce protest in Israel and of the Jewish communities in the world against these wild and ill-boding accusations prompted the Soviet Union to sever its diplomatic relations with Israel. They were restored upon Soviet initiative, six months after Stalin's death.'

Nonetheless the process of Soviet-Israeli alienation continued.

At the end of the 6-Day War in June 1967, the Soviet Union broke off its relations with Israel for the second time. It was an act of spite which neither influenced the outcome of the war nor enhanced the Soviet position in the region.

The present leadership of the Soviet Union has repeatedly stated, most prominently and authoritatively by General Secretary Gorbachev during Syrian President Al-Asad's visit to Moscow in April 1987, that "the absence of relations between the Soviet Union and the state of Israel cannot be regarded as normal". The Soviet Union argued all the time that it had broken relations as sanction against Israel's alleged aggression. No organ of the United Nations, however, had ever defined Israel's action of self-defence in 1967 as an act of aggression nor endorsed any proposal to impose sanctions on Israel.

The new Soviet leadership maintains that its policy of glasnost intends not only to expose past errors, but to correct them. The restructuring of Soviet-Israeli relations is overdue and so is Soviet policy in regard to the Arab-Israeli conflict ripe for reappraisal. Diplomatic relations are useful in particular when countries do have differences. The lack of formal relations between the Soviet Union and Israel has been inconvenient for both. It disturbed the balance of Israel's international relations and deprived the Soviet Union from exerting its influence on the course of the Arab-Israel conflict.

Neither visits of consular missions nor occasional ministerial meetings can serve as a substitute for the orderly and efficient conduct of business between governments through normal diplomatic channels. The Soviet reluctance to reopen them retards more than it advances the convening of an international peace conference considered by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Forty years ago, the Soviet Union and the United States together supported the age-old aspirations of the Jewish people to regain its independence in its ancient homeland. Now when positive changes in the relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union become more and more apparent, the time seems opportune for both governments to resume their cooperation for the promotion of a peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israel conflict.

If the parties to the conflict have earnestly decided to settle it peacefully on the basis of compromise as envisaged in Resolution 242, the detailed modalities of procedure are of secondary importance.

Forty years ago Ambassador Gromyko expressed in moving terms the sympathy of the Russian people with the plight of the Jewish people. Its gratitude for the support the Soviet Union extended to it in its darkest and most fateful hour is indelibly engraved in the memory of Israel. The time has come to close the ring. Nothing would be more fitting to symbolize a new beginning than the long delayed presentation of the credentials by the next Israel Ambassador to the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Andrey Gromyko.

Comparison of Statement on OGONEK Article

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 1 August carries in its Morning Edition on page 3 a TASS report on the statement made by a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman in response to remarks by Major General Kim Tsagolov about the situation in Afghanistan in Tsagolov's interview with OGONEK. The IZVESTIYA report, entitled "Official Spokesman's Clarification," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English version published on page 26 of the 29 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, revealing the following variations:

Column one, second paragraph, line two in IZVESTIYA reads: "...his own business.

"As far as the opinion of the Soviet side is concerned, it..." (deleting remainder of second paragraph, and substituting "opinion" for "stand")

Pakistani 'Violations' of Accords Noted

LD3107090688 Moscow TASS in English 0824 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—Ever new facts show that Pakistan is seeking to hamper implementation of the Geneva agreements on settlement of the Afghan problem, the newspaper PRAVDA writes in its international review today. There are two ways of doing that.

First, through destabilization of the situation in Afghanistan. Citing concrete fact of crimes of the so called "irreconcilables" on the Afghan territory, committed with the direct support of Pakistan, the newspaper notes that such actions on the part of Islamabad are crying sabotage of the relevant Geneva agreement, which provides, specifically, for non-interference of the sides in each other's affairs.

The USSR and the United States are known to be the guarantors of that agreement, PRAVDA writes. While Washington either ignores or encourages such a course of Islamabad, Moscow shall not remain indifferent to its violation of the obligations, and will react as called for by the situation.

Pakistan meanwhile demonstrates ever growing lack of realism, the newspaper says. A few days ago they started there undermining the process of settlement now "internationally". President Ziaul Haq said that the USSR allegedly suspended the withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan and even "additionally moved 10,000 troops to Kabul".

Turning down these fabrications by the concrete proofs, PRAVDA notes that Ziaul Haq's pronouncements are so absurd that even Washington was in a hurry to dissociate itself from them. But why were such pronouncements made at all? The aim of Ziaul Haq's statement is obvious. It was made to mislead the world public, to put to doubt the sincerity of the USSR's intentions and thereby try to divert the attention from gross violations of the Geneva agreements by Islamabad itself.

Reportage on Current Afghan Situation

LD3107153588 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 31 Jul 88

[text] Kabul July 31 TASS—To unite the people to fight for peace is a major task today, said participants in the mass jirgah of the inhabitants of the town of Aybak (the province of Samangan). Jirgah participants spoke out in support of the policy of national reconciliation and the Geneva accords, and sent letters to opposition armed formations operating in the province, calling for an end to the fratricidal struggles.

In the Sar-e Pol Province 30 people together with their commander voluntarily laid down their arms, and in Kapisa 15 former rebels gave up the struggle. The self-defense groups of the Samangan Province has been strengthened with 35 former opponents to the government, together with their commander Ajab-Khan.

New security points have been set up south of Kabul to prevent rocket attacks at the city, the BAKHTAR news agency reported. Afghan servicemen have already foiled a rebel attempt to fire several rockets at the capital on the last day of the religious holiday. Thanks to the assistance of the inhabitants of the Asman Qal'eh area two time-controlled launchers ready for firing missiles at Kabul were timely uncovered and rendered harmless. Regrettably, it has not proved possible to prevent another shelling of Jalalabad. On Friday, extremists fired 34 rockets at the city, killing 5 people, including a 2-year-old child, and wounding 11 others.

In the province of Lowgar, Afghan soldiers seized rockets, launchers and other weapons and ammunition. The whereabouts of the rebels' arms depot had been reported to the authorities by peasants.

Foreign nationals continue to illegally cross over into Afghan territory. According to the available data, three advisers—one American, one Chinese and one Pakistani—arrived in the province of Konduz from Pakistan on July 17. They are reported to have brought money and weapons in two cars, intended for the groups of the extremists operating in the province.

On July 22 six Pakistani advisers penetrated the district of Arghandab (the province of Qandahar). They brought a large sum of money for the rebels and a large quantity of subversive literature. On July 23 foreign instructors appeared in Herat Province. On July 24 a group of four foreign military advisers appeared in the area of Kuh-e Safi. These advisers conduct theoretical and practical training in the use of rocket launchers. On July 25 two Arab advisers arrived in the district of Daman in Qandahar Province.

Rocket Attack on Kabul

LD3107182388 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 31 TASS—Extremists fired surface-to-surface rockets on the Afghan capital at seven o'clock in the morning today. One resident of Kabul was killed and another three wounded. Several houses were damaged, the BAKHTAR agency said.

Afghan General on Nangarhar

LD3107164100 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0907 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul, 31 Jul (TASS)—The Afghan Armed Forces are in firm control of the situation in the eastern province of Nangarhar, according to a BAKHTAR interview with Lieutenant General Muhammad 'Asef Delawar, commander of the Army Corps stationed in Nangarhar. The 10 weeks since Soviet troops left Nangarhar have shown that Afghan units and subunits are themselves capable of defending extensive areas from attack by extremists and of holding the roads leading from Jalalabad to Kabul and to the major district and district centers.

Some time ago, rumors were circulating that Jalalabad and the major district centers would fall, if not today then tomorrow, M.A. Delawar continued. That is the by-now customary propaganda of the leaders of antigovernment forces lodged in Pakistan. However, I can quite simply announce that plans to seize individual regions of the Republic, and in particular Nangarhar, will never succeed, M.A. Delawar stressed. According to available data, Khalis, the ringleader of the "Islamic Party," was recently in the border areas of the provinces that have been declared demilitarized by the Afghan

Government. In announcing that Jalalabad would soon fall, he was trying to persuade the local population to cooperate with him. But the residents of the villages along the border have responded with a decisive refusal. They stressed they do not want to wage a fratricidal war lasting for many years and leading to the deaths of thousands of innocent women and children.

The events in Chapliar Khwar have become an example of the mendacity of the antigovernment propaganda, the Afghan spokesman continued. The extremists told the local residents they should leave their homes since the rebel groups would be waging their offensive against the antigovernment forces from this region. The most frightened people moved away and headed for Jalalabad. A tragedy occurred on the road: A truck overturned and 21 people died. Those not killed decided to return to their native villages. There they saw there was nothing left in their homes—neither stocks of flour nor wheat—and that all their domestic livestock was no longer there. The peasants' possessions had been plundered by the extremists.

M.A. Delawar then described the battle that took place in the Shinwar area. Three weeks ago, the rebels subjected the populated areas to an extremely heavy artillery-rocket bombardment. Civil defense and border militia units fought the antigovernment groups. The outcome of the battles was that 245 extremists were killed, including 8 commanders of the Hikmatyar and Khalis "Islamic Parties," while 134 of the government's opponents were wounded. The antigovernment groups also were forced to abandon their positions and withdraw to their bases. It is characteristic that the regular units of the Afghan Army did not see action and that the forces of the people's militia were sufficient to rout the enemy.

Egyptian Minister Ghali Views Soviet Ties

LD2907105988 Moscow TASS in English 1042 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—"Bilateral relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union have entered a new stage of development," Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt (ARE), chairman of the board of the Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society, said today.

"On both sides, there is political will for wider contacts between our two countries in various fields and, first of all, those in the interests of strengthening peace. This is the priority direction of the foreign policies of the ARE and the USSR," he emphasized.

Speaking at a news conference here, Butrus Ghali pointed out that the restructuring process in the Soviet Union aroused a lively interest in Egypt and other non-aligned countries which positively evaluate the new Soviet political course. The minister of state spoke in detail of the results of his visit to the USSR during which he had meetings with prominent Soviet party, state and public figures.

Touching upon his meeting with Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Butrus Ghali pointed out the striving of the National Democratic Party of Egypt for close cooperation with the CPSU. He is a member of the party's General Secretariat.

The Egyptian minister of state said further that he had discussed with Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, the state of and prospects for the develoment of bilateral relations as well as regional problems. He pointed out that Egypt fully supported the idea of holding an international plenipotentiary conference on the Middle East with active participation of all the parties concerned, including the Soviet Union and the United States. "We need such an international conference which would secure a comprehensive settlement of the problems of the region on a broad long-term basis and, first of all, the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination," he said.

Egypt, the minister of state went on to say, comes out in favour of bringing about an end to the war betwen Iran and Iraq as soon as possible on the basis of Resolution 598 of the United Nations Security Council.

Butrus Ghali described as unfounded the assertions that Egypt ostensibly supplied arms to the Afghan opposition. "Our country supplies weapons to more than 20 countries. Weapons reached the Afghan oppositions from other sources, not from Egypt which stands for a peaceful solution to the problems pertaining to Afghanistan."

In answer to the question about Egypt's attitude to the emigration of Jews from the USSR, Butrus Ghali emphasized that this is a purely internal affairs of the Soviet state. At the same time he pointed out that since Israel has no clearly defined state borders up to now, there exists the possibility of populating the occupied Arab territories with emigrants.

Sub-Saharan Africa

U.S.-Soviet Talks on Southern Africa Open

LD3107164488 Moscow TASS in English 1622 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Geneva July 31—Soviet-American consultations on the issue of the situation in South Africa have opened here today. They are being held on the eve of the round of quadripartite talks between Angola, Cuba, the RSA and the USA on a settlement in South Africa, which is scheduled for August 2.

The Soviet delegation at the consultations is led by Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, the American delegation—by Chester Crocker, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs.

Boraine Assesses RSA's Political Situation

MB2900142400 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] Today we continue with excerpts from an interview granted by the prominent South African politician Alex Boraine to Radio Moscow during his visit to the Soviet Union.

In previous broadcasts, Mr Boraine spoke about the changes in the political situation in South Africa. How does he see the future of his country:

[Begin Boraine recording] The first scenario is what is called the revolutionary scenario. That because of the repression, because of the anger and the vast number of black South Africans it is (?virtually) impossible for the country to continue, and therefore there is going to be an uprising involving possibly outside forces, but, certainly, an internal uprising which would bring about a completely new system of government where probably the blacks especially in terms of numbers would be either in the majority in government, or the entire government.

The only problem about that scenario is that there is no (?armed force) on the borders, there is no [word indistinct] that I know of, particularly the great powers the Soviet Union and the United States are going to send their troops into South Africa. The ANC [African National Congress], despite its policy of the armed struggle, does not have the mobilization for conventional war, there is no access [words indistinct] and infrastructure [words indistinct] and alongside that youth have the South African Army, which is the biggest and most powerful and the most sophisticated in Africa, and also the most determined to maintain [words indistinct]. So, in my own view (?I would say) that the revolutionary scenario is that [words indistinct] that cannot be realized in the short or medium term.

The second scenario is a right-wing takeover which will make things even more difficult and cause greater reaction from black South Africans and from the international community. My guess is, my own analysis is that the right wing has certainly gained considerable ground at the expense of the NP [National Party], simply because the NP for the first time in its history doesn't seem to be too clear, to show where its going, doesn't seem to have a plan. It seems to operate on an ad hoc basis, and white South Africans who have been told for so long that they will be protected, that they will maintain privileges, and their position in society, suddenly are not happy with the NP and are looking towards the right wing which, if you like, represents the NP of about 5 years ago. But if there is an election and if the right wing is able to win that election, it is my view that the South African Government would not allow that to happen. They would not allow that to happen to left or right on the normal constitutional lines. I think then they would [words indistinct] and that means a solid military rule together with the main leaders of the NP. I cannot see them allowing anyone else to take control. You see, that too is going to be a very grim, difficult year that lies ahead. The third scenario is that South Africa would be like Northern Ireland, in other words the violence there, the conflict could be seen to be almost [words indistinct]. What examples do we have anywhere in the world where a ruler who enjoys total power voluntarily abdicates that position? It seems to me that the chance to live with that and adjust and adapt, and there will be adjustment and there will be adaptations, but I think that the Northern Ireland scenario of intermittent violence of resistance and the violence of the state will continue. The fourth scenario, which is more hopeful, is that because of the problems I referred to and of developments the [words indistinct] the growth of the black population, and the fact that by the year 2000 the whites will consist of 11 percent and that if you could project that, then it is totally impossible to imagine a situation, in the long term, where whites will continue to rule as they do now, and that apartheid could continue as it is now therefore, a more hopeful scenario is that the more [words indistinct], the more enlightened the [words indistinct] the South African Government will agree to a process of negotiation with its major adversary, namely the African National Congress, that it will release some of its leaders and unban the organization so that the negotiations can take place towards a totally new South Africa; that they hope for [words indistinct] we are not even in pre-negotiation period [words indistinct]. We are certainly [words indistinct]. We are in a period of transition. The resistance will not end, will not go away. So the government will [words indistinct] preferably some [words indistinct] to try and maintain its power at the expense of the majority. [end recording]

Further on Boraine Views

MB3107065088 Moscow in english to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 30 Jul 88

[From the "Kaleidoscope" program, presented by Boris Novikhov]

[Text] How does Alex Boraine view the future of South Africa?

[Begin Boraine recording] In terms of the future, (?the state) knows full well the terror of government without (?choice), that it cannot govern the vast majority of people in South Africa who have no say in that government. Therefore, a more hopeful scenario is that the more sensible, and the more enlightened within the South African Government will agree to a process of negotiation with its major adversary, namely the African

National Congress, that it will release some of its leaders, that it will unban that organization, so that the negotiations can take place towards a totally new South Africa. [end recording]

Soviet Talks With Angolan Group Possible
LD3107002688 Lisbon Domestic Service in Portuguese 2300 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] In Rabat, Morocco, according to a Moscow source, two Soviet high-ranking military officers could be the named interlocutors to establish the first official links between UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the USSR.

UNITA said in Rabat that it had no official knowledge of the Soviet moves, but stressed that in principle it does not oppose a dialogue with the Soviet Union.

History of Relations With Somalia Discussed
LD3107204188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 31 Jul 88

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Aleksandr Bovin]

[Text] [Bovin] In recent months, reports have been coming in of flare-ups of the civil war—a sort of intertribal war—in northern Somalia. There the so-called Somali National Movement has become more active. Recently there have been reports, from not very reliable sources, it is true, that the insurgents have moved into Port Berbera. This conflict has not yet been legalized, so to speak. Official quarters in Mogadishu prefer not to speak about it, as you and I will now see.

[Begin Aleksandr Kraminov videorecording] Frankly speaking, it was not without some uncertainty that I came here to Somalia, and it is not without some uncertainty that I begin this report from Mogadishu. The fact of the matter is that for over 10 years now our journalists have not been here. Thus, Igor Tarutin, a PRAVDA correspondent who is now holding the camera, and I are the first after a lengthy interval. Information on the happenings and processes in the country have had to be culled from Western agency reports, which are generally anti-Somali and anti-government. It has to be said that this tenor has left its mark on us. To this very day traces remain of the hurt felt over the insulting expulsion of thousands of Soviet experts from here in 1977—experts who were genuinely trying to help the Somalis build their industry, modernize their agriculture, and strengthen their army. Emotion apart, it is still essential to know what is actually going on in a country with which we now maintain only official, diplomatic links, but with which for a long time previously we had very warm, truly friendly relations.

In 1960, Somalia attained its independence. The most vigorous political force then was the Somali Youth League, which grew out of the Club of Somali Youth set up back in 1943. The Somali Revolutionary Youth Union considers itself the heir to these organizations. We are now present at the opening of its latest, third congress. The young people assembled in this hall are unlikely to remember the Soviet specialists with whom their fathers worked side by side, but they cannot but be aware of the support given by our country to a Somalia that had cast off colonialism. So what happened between our countries? [video shows scenes from the youth congress]

This is an orphange for girls in the town of Afgooye. It is called a revolutionary youth center. By denying itself much that is needed, the republic began setting up such centers in 1973 to rescue and educate the younger generation—children who had been left without parents. Just as once upon a time in our country it was left to the Cheka to do something about homeless children, so here the internal troops—who up until then had guarded the prisons—were given this task. In 1977 these centers started to fill up with catastrophically increased numbers. Somalia had unleashed aggression against neighboring Ethiopia. [video shows children playing the center, a smiling soldier]

It was a perfidious calculation. Just 3 years had passed since the feudal monarchistic regime had ended in Ethiopia. Revolutionary power had no time to grow strong. It would not take very much to start implementing the idea of creating a Great Somalia, or so it seemed. Incidentally, this idea belonged to the British colonialists, who had at one time intended to create a unified state of all the Somalis, under the British crown, of course, by seizing certain Ethiopian and Kenyan territories and joining them with French and Italian possessions. Naturally, our country refused to support this aggression. The response was the expulsion of all Soviet specialists.

Some of them worked here, at the State Corporation for the Mechanized Servicing of Agricultural Regions. It was set up with our help and was equipped entirely with our machinery. It was amazing to learn that even today, 40 tractors and bulldozers, and 7 trucks manufactured by the Soviet Union are still on the road, for much time has passed, but most of the machinery now is from Italy, Britain, Japan, and the United States.

The task of the corporation is to bring new territories under agriculture, to remove the jungle, plow the virgin land, build roads, and lay irrigation canals. The clients are state farms, cooperatives, and individual farmers. Now the corporation fulfills a little more than half of its plan.

Abdullah Khalanur explains that the main problems facing the corporation he heads are the following: a shortage of technology—the price on the Western markets increases rapidly, and Somalia does not have the foreign currency to buy it—not enough qualified specialists, and a lack of spare parts, especially for Soviet technology. [video shows scenes of the corporation, including trucks moving around]

Of course, things are not so bad at all former Soviet-Somali facilities. For instance, the dairy at Mogadishu, built and equipped by our country, stood idle for some time due to equipment failure. Now the enterprise has been reconstructed by the countries of the Common Market. Its productivity is several times greater than before. [video shows the dairy with a bottle filling machine]

Somalia's national university. Once upon a time a large group of Soviet lecturers worked here. In addition a vast number of young Somalis graduated from our institutes and military academies. In the uppermost echelons of the country, in the party, the state apparatus, and the army there are many people who, even now, can speak Russian. The next generation of Somalia's leaders will speak Italian. That country has taken over sponsorship of the university, subsidizing it, supplying lecturers, textbooks, and teaching aids. [video shows views of the university, both inside and out]

Still one of the poorest countries, even on the Continent of Africa—a country of cattle-herders and nomads where three- and some esimates four-fifths of the people are nomads—in its present state Somalia is incapable of dealing with the problems facing it. Somalia's economy exists largely thanks to financial assistance from the Western creditors insisted that Mogadishu embark on a policy of so-called economic liberalization, or in other words, abandoning the state sector in industry and agriculture, finance and trade control, and the planned principle of the economy. The consequences proved even worse than the most pessimistic forecasts.

The Somali shilling became worthless, capital started to drain out of the country nd the cost of living soared. The liberalization policy was halted, and a deadlock situation was created. The attempt to introduce capitalist ways had clearly been disastrous for the country, but at the same time the links with world socialism had been lost. Where did the way out lie? Mohamad Siad Barre, the country's leader gives an interview. He says that only after the country attained independence was its own written language created. This is just one instance of the grave legacy of the colonial past. We, he says, are traning our young people, are trying to carry through various development projects. There have been some successes, but we had hoped to achieve considerably more.

In answer to a question on Somalia's foreign policy, Mohamad Siad Barre says: We now lay no claims to the territory of neighboring countries. We have started a political dialogue with Ethiopia, and quite seriously and sincerely want to keep it going so as to achieve long-term agreements on political issues. We want to live with our neighbors in peace and friendship, so that there might be no more hostlity and conflicts.

On relations with the Soviet Union: Our differences did not arise from a hostility toward the Soviet people or the Soviet leadership. We have nothing against the Soviet Union, and we wish to reopen the cooperation that was broken off in the period of the cooling in relations. [video shows rural scenes of cattle, dust, and camels; a road in a town with cars at the side and carts on the road; interview with President Siad Barre]

It was not without some uncertainty that I began this report, and it is not without some uncertainty that I end it. Yes, Somalia is reviewing its foreign policy, evidence of which is the signing this spring here in Mogadishu of documents re-establishing normal relations with Ethiopia. At the same time, Somalia remains a military ally of the United States. The country is totally dependent on the Western and the Arab world. At the same time, however, it continues to cling to the economic and political structure that was created with our help. Soviet-Somali relations really are far from simple. A period of ardent friendship was replaced by intense hostility. Now Somalia is again extending its hand to us. [end recording]

[Bovin] Well, if the hand is extended with honorable intentions, I think we have the sense not to reject this hand.

Congolese Group Studies CPSU Farming Policy

PM2907102388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] Under the plan for interparty ties a delegation of the Congolese Labor Party visited the Soviet Union 15 through 27 July to familiarize itself with the CPSU's experience in the sphere of leading agriculture and the cooperative movement and with the progress of restructuring in the USSR.

The Congolese Labor Party delegation had talks at the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department and International Department, the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, and the Tsentrosoyuz. The guests visited agricultural and cooperative enterprises in Moscow Oblast and the Uzbek SSR.

Rwandan Parliamentary Delegation Concludes Visit

LD0108014588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1400 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] A delegation from the National Development Council, the Rwandan parliament, led by Council President Ntahobari, left Moscow for home today. It was on an official visit to our country at the invitation of the

USSR Supreme Soviet. At a meeting with Soviet journalists, Ntahobari noted that the delegation was satisfied with its trip to the USSR. A wide-ranging exchange of views with Soviet officials had been conducted in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kishinev. He confirmed that our countries had great opportunities for widening and deepening bilateral ties.

East Europe

Joint Military Exercises With GDR Conclude

LD3007203988 Moscow TASS in English 2011 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 30 TASS—Joint exercises of the group of Soviet troops in Germany and the National People's Army of the GDR have been completed today.

During the exercises the troops practiced control and interaction of different fighting arms.

In the opinion of the commanders of the exercises, they were instructive and revealed a higher level of field training standards of troops.

The objectives of the exercises have been attained. The troops which took part in the exercises, are returning to the places of their permanent dislocation. [as received]

The exercises were watched by observers from a number of states- participants in the CSCE, invited to attend in accordance with the document of the Stockholm Conference.

West Europe

Reportage on Moscow Visit by FRG's Genscher

Arrives 29 Jul

LD2907154888 Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice-chancellor and minister for foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, arrived on a working visit in Moscow at the Soviet Government's invitation, today.

Meeting him at the airport were Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, and other officials.

Visit Significance Noted

LD2907162788 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the FRG Hans-Dietrich Genscher arrived in the Soviet capital for a working visit today. This visit is one of the stages of the Soviet-West German dialogue which has considerably developed of late and become very intensive and substantive.

The meeting between member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Hans-Dietrich Genscher planned for tomorrow is the third one this year. The previous meetings showed the possibility of successful development of the process of political contacts on the basis of the adherence of the sides to the treaty of Moscow between the USSR and the FRG and the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin.

The visit of this high representative of the FRG to the Soviet Union takes place following the Soviet-American summit in Moscow, after the 19th all-union party conference, Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Poland and a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states. The results of these political events of world importance open new opportunities for invigorating international relations and making them more humane, for the building of a nuclear weapons-free world. It is held in the Soviet Union that the development of Soviet-West German cooperation can play an important role in this process.

It should be noted that approval of the initiatives of the Warsaw Pact has already been expressed in the FRG, in other Western countries. It is important not to lose time, to ensure that favorable chances should not be let slip by because of different procrastinations.

The heads of diplomatic departments of the USSR and the FRG are to discuss the state of and prospects for bilateral relations, topical international problems, including the situation at the Vienna meeting of representatives of participating countries in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and approaches to the construction of a common European home.

Questions of the preparation for the visits of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev to the FRG and Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the Soviet Union will naturally be discussed during the visit of Hans-Dietrich Genscher. Much importance is attached in Moscow to the upcoming summit meetings between the USSR and the FRG in Moscow next October and in Bonn in the first half of 1989. These meetings are expected to determine the priority directions in Soviet-West German bilateral relations, and to open an opportunity for the widening of mutual understanding in questions of security and disarmament.

It is envisaged that Mikhail Gorbachev will receive Hans-Dietrich Genscher for a conversation. This is a sign of the importance which is given here to the visit of the statesman from the FRG.

Meets With Gorbachev

LD3007092188 Moscow World Service in English 0900 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Excerpt] A meeting between the General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachev and the visiting West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher has begun in Moscow. According to a spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, it concerns an exchange of visits on the highest level—that is, preparations for a trip of Mikhail Gorbachev to West Germany and the visit to the USSR by Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to these visits, the spokesman said. [passage omitted]

Further on Talks

LD3007145888 Hamburg DPA in German 1135 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—In Moscow on Saturday, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher concurred in stating that German-Soviet relations play a key role in the development of East-West relations. Genscher also announced that during their 2 hours of talks at the Soviet Council of Ministers building in the Kremlin, the two sides were in agreement on the importance of these relations for all of Europe.

In the discussion with Genscher, who came to Moscow for regular foreign ministerial consultations, Gorbachev particularly praised the Federal Government's East-West policy. [passage omitted]

With some self-assurance, but also with recognition for Bonn, Gorbachev referred to the decisive importance which German-Soviet relations have always had for all of Europe historically. This perspective, Genscher stressed afterwards, would also have to be taken into consideration in the forthcoming visits by Federal Chancellor Kohl to Moscow and by General Secretary Gorbachev to Bonn in the first half of 1989.

The Kremlin talks, about which Gorbachev later expressed satisfaction, also dealt with the USSR's relations with the United States. Genscher stressed that the Europeans welcome every step toward cooperation, but do not want to restrict themselves to the role of spectators. For his part Gorbachev ruled out attaching only secondary importance to the treatment of European problems.

PRAVDA Reports Talks

PM0108075988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev Receives H.-D. Genscher"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev today received in the Kremlin the FRG Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher. This was not their first meeting. Since much has been done during the past 2 or 3 years in bilateral relations and on the European level, including with the personal participation of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the conversation turned at once to major problems.

Much attention was given to European affairs. The possible consequences of the plans of military integration in Western Europe and the forming of a "single market" by 1992 are being analyzed in the USSR, Mikhail Gorbachev said. It is a responsibility of European politicians to prevent this from bringing damage to the positive initiatives in the field of disarmament and strengthening security, which are already becoming a reality, and from undermining the Helsinki process and the concept of the "common European home," which is oriented toward universal cooperation in the interests of all. Hans- Dietrich Genscher expressed the view that this does not pose a danger to the future of Europe and that, on the contrary, the creation of the "single market" within the framework of the EEC increases possibilities for cooperation and openness on the scale of all of Europe, on a world scale. He also said that in Europe there always has been and always will be a place for the existence of states belonging to different social and political systems.

Tremendous possibilities for solving major, global problems and in a way that could serve as an international example are inherent in the diverse processes taking place in Europe.

Much here depends also on relations between the USSR and the FRG. An understanding of responsibility for the creation of such relations between them that would facilitate the development of positive processes in all of Europe and in the world have formed both in the consciousness of their public and on the political level.

This is a result of the substantial experience connected with the FRG's so-called "Ostpolitik," which was begun by the previous government coalition and remains to this day. There has formed a certain stock of trust which is of decisive importance. Mikhail Gorbachev supported Genscher's thought that trust is easily damaged, although it is created with difficulty. This is taught by the history of the two peoples, by the history of Europe. That is why it is so important to treasure trust, to develop it, and to fill it with concrete content. It is exactly to this, above all, that the preparations for the exchange of visits at summit level and the visits themselves should be subordinated.

There is a shared desire for the forthcoming visits to give a strong impetus to the further development of bilateral relations. It will be necessary to discuss the biggest problems of our time, to work for the results of the visits to incorporate everything that has been accumulated before them, and for the visits to produce big and promising endeavors both in the sphere of policy and in the sphere of economy, ecology, culture, and human contacts.

One should not be afraid to look broadly at the world, to peer into its future, Mikhail Gorbachev said. It is time to raise foreign policy to such a level where it will be not only a reaction to current events but also a projection into new international relations in the spirit of new thinking. Such an approach to the forming of foreign policy has already produced the first important practical results, although at first it had evoked skepticism and doubts.

The situation at the Vienna meeting was discussed. Referring to decisions adopted by the Political Consultative Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed the interest of the Soviet Union, of all Warsaw Pact states, in a completion of the meeting without procrastination. We are ready to advance far in solving the problems that have arisen there, but let no one count on our unilateral disarmament.

Questions of restructuring and its consequences both for the Soviet Union and for the surrounding world, for Europe, including also for Soviet-West German relations, were dealt with more than once during the conversation.

In light of the 19th party conference and the recently completed plenary meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev gave a brief outline of the essence of the present stage of the ongoing processes and characterized the party's approaches to the realization of the tremendous tasks facing the country. The solution of these tasks signifies a real revolution for the country and will exert a definitely beneficial influence on the entire international development. Hans-Dietrich Genscher spoke about the interest of the FRG and Western Europe in the success of the transformations begun in the Soviet Union.

The exchange of views on this subject showed that it is being increasingly admitted that each system should change and cope with its problems in its own way, that no one has a monopoly on truth—and no one especially has the right to impose its values on others, that differences in roads and systems are by no means a pretext for confrontation and, on the contrary, that these differences can serve mutual enrichment and cooperation for the good of each and for common progress.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher conveyed greetings to Mikhail Gorbachev from the FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Mikhail Gorbachev asked him to convey his greetings to the chancellor and said that he was looking forward to their meeting in the near future.

Taking part in the meeting were Eduard Shevardnadze, Ambassadors Yuliy Kvitsinskiy and Andreas Meyer-Landrut, and head of a department of the FRG Foreign Minister Freiherr von Richthoffen.

Genscher Views Talks

LD3007112788 Hamburg DPA in German 1017 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—On Saturday, Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev proposed to Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher "a joint effort" to enable the Vienna CSCE conference to end successfully. Details were not announced by Genscher, who briefed German correspondents after almost 2 hours of talks at the Kremlin.

Gorbachev and Genscher underlined the need to thoroughly prepare the visit by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl at the end of October. Genscher reported that Gorbachev said all aspects, from the economic sphere to international topics, should be included. The aim is a fundamental improvement in relations. Genscher named as the third major point of his meeting with Gorbachev an explanation by the Soviet general secretary of future Soviet foreign policy.

Genscher was encouraged by and found confirmation of the seriousness of the Soviet desire for reform. Gorbachev has repeatedly stressed that Soviet policy toward the Federal Republic and its other European neighbors is by no means of secondary importance.

In this connection the EC and the establishment of a common internal market was also mentioned in the talks. With regard to relations between the two superpowers, Genscher stressed that the Europeans were not content to remain mere spectators.

Following a luncheon with Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, the sessions of the delegations will begin. The agenda includes questions of detail concerning German-Soviet relations such as economic expansion and the application of a Berlin clause [for the inclusion of West Berlin in agreements].

Meets With Shevardnadze

LD3007143388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Talks began today between Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, and Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and minister of foreign affairs. Also today, Comrade Shevardnadze hosted a lunch in the guest's honor. In attendance were Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as Antonov, Kamensev, Silayev, and Tolstykh, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Eases Doubts About EEC

LD3007204788 Hamburg DPA in German 1901 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Moscow (DPA)—During talks with his Soviet counterpart Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow today, Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher urged closer economic cooperation between the EEC and the Soviet Union after the formation of the single market. Circles in the Bonn delegation said Genscher tried to dispel the USSR's worries about the consequences of a common European market. [passage omitted] Genscher stressed to Shevardnadze the opportunities for the Eastern economic bloc as well after the creation of the single market in 1992.

According to this information bilateral economic cooperation was discussed "for a very long time" by both ministers, during which the hope was expressed that progress in this area could be achieved before the planned visit by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl at the end of October. No details were given. There was a thorough discussion of the chancellor's visit, which Moscow saw as an "important event."

The Vienna CSCE followup conference was a central topic. Both sides had expressed interest in a speedy conclusion of the talks in order to make the start of negotiations on conventional disarmament possible this year, it was said.

PRAVDA on Talks

PM0108082588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 88 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "In a Constructive Atmosphere"]

[Text] Negotiations were held on 30 July between Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice chancellor and foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, who stayed in the USSR on a brief working visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government and in accordance with the protocol on consultations.

An exchange of opinions was held on the state and prospects of bilateral relations, as well as on topical international problems, above all the state of affairs in Europe and the prospects for building a common European home.

The foreign ministers noted with satisfaction the growing intensity and richness of the Soviet-West German political dialogue. The common understanding of the role and significance of Soviet-West German relations and their place in European and world politics is being formed in its course. Both sides were unanimous in the opinion that the present-day positive development of the international situation creates favorable prerequisites for a substantial headway in Soviet-West German relations.

European states, relying on their unique historical and political experience, have every possibility for consolidating the foundations of peace and cooperation on the continent, Shevardnadze said. The USSR and West Germany could play an appreciable role in molding a new European thinking and initiate good undertakings on our continent.

The forthcoming summit meetings between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl are to become a weighty manifestation of qualitative changes in the relations between the USSR and West Germany. A unanimous opinion was expressed that a substantial headway could be made in the course of these meetings in turning a new page in Soviet-West German relations, in attaining major concrete accords in economic, scientific, technological, cultural, environmental protection, and other areas of cooperation.

The Soviet side noted the political significance of the further expansion of mutually beneficial economic relations between the USSR and West Germany, which are a highly promising way for advancing bilateral relations as a whole. There is a need to cast a new glance in this regard on the whole sphere of economic interaction between the two countries. Measures to create a new mechanism of foreign economic activity, being taken in the Soviet Union within the framework of the economic reform, are favorable for the quest for new approaches to the development of cooperation, including its nontraditional forms.

Expansion of trade and the deepening of cooperation can be promoted by participation, offered to West German firms, in big projects in the USSR—modernization of the light and food industries, the development of resources of the Kola Peninsula, and the establishment of big oil refining and gas processing complexes in Western Siberia. There are also good prospects in peaceful exploration of space and peaceful uses of nuclear energy, in training engineers and managers, in medicine, the production of medical equipment, etc.

In discussing that set of issues Shevardnadze noted the braking role of all sorts of artificial restrictions on economic cooperation, above all Cocom lists, quotas and contingents within the EEC framework, etc. Their elimination could become an important prerequisite not only for intensifying economic Soviet-West German exchanges, but also for overcoming the technological split of Europe as a whole, for developing trade, economic, scientific and technological relations between CEMA and EEC countries.

In discussing other issues of bilateral cooperation the two sides noted the positive role of the expanding practice of consultations between the foreign ministries of the two countries, which are a useful mechanism for deepening the sides' views of each other's stands on the most topical bilateral and international problems, joint or parallel actions in the interests of peace and mutual understanding in Europe, and international affairs as a whole.

Both sides hold that growing mutual understanding in issues of security and disarmament, quests for the solution of these problems with a reliance on the available experience of such interaction should be a substantial element of their relations under the new conditions. In this connection Shevardnadze drew Genscher's attention to the new initiatives put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in Warsaw, to the results of a recent meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact states. The three-stage plan for reducing armed forces and armaments in Europe, proposals for holding an all-European "Reykjavik" and creating a European center to reduce the risk of war danger, and other initiatives are a set of measures leading to a new, peaceful, and secure Europe. Shevardnadze expressed the hope that NATO member countries would give a comprehensive and constructive reply to these proposals.

Genscher welcomed the readiness of socialist countries to begin a substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals and to get down to negotiations on this issue without delay, not later than this year. The sides were unanimous in the opinion that these negotiations should be aimed at ensuring stability in the sphere of conventional armaments on a substantially lower quantitative level and on qualitatively new principles of non-offensive defence.

The sides thoroughly considered the state of affairs at the Vienna meeting and reaffirmed the need for its early completion with the adoption of a substantive well-balanced document. Both sides underlined that at the concluding stage it is necessary to display political will and exert the utmost constructive efforts to speed up the solution of issues still unresolved.

On the question of banning chemical weapons, the two sides noted the far-reaching coincidence in the approaches of the Soviet Union and West Germany and their interest in an early completion of the work on a convention at the disarmament conference in Geneva.

Shevardnadze and Genscher expressed satisfaction with the establishment of official CEMA-EEC relations. In their opinion, constructive interaction between the two organizations meets the interests of joint construction of a Europe of peace and cooperation.

Ways of political settlement in the Middle East, the Iran-Iraq armed conflict, the situation in Afghanistan, in the south of Africa, the Korean Peninsula, in Central America, and Kampuchea were discussed.

The negotiations were held in a well-wishing, constructive atmosphere.

Latin America & Caribbean

TASS Condemns Shultz' Guatemala Visit

LD3107223888 Moscow TASS in English 2112 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Text] Mexico City July 31 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Fesenko:

The real aim of the meeting of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz with foreign ministers of Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica and El Salvador, which has been scheduled to be held in the Guatemalan capital on Monday, is to foil the process of peaceful settlement in Central America.

As was officially announced, the meeting, for which Nicaragua was not invited, has been officially called for summing up the results of implementation of the Guatemala accords signed a year ago on ways to ensure peace in Central America. But, in real fact, as is noted in the commentaries of the Mexican press, the current meeting is designed to mark the start of a new "diplomatic and political offensive of the USA" and the regimes obedient to Washington against Nicaragua.

Local observers note that at the meeting with George Shultz the ministers of the four countries of the region intend to approve the document containing malicious slanders against the Sandinist government. Its basic provisions were agreed upon in the course of the recent tour by Maurice Busby, a special envoy of the U.S. President, of Central America.

The holding of the meeting, the Mexican newspaper JORNADA notes [word indistinct] about a worsening of the situation in Central America. Late last year a chance appeared for the first time after a long period for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the region. That could become a reality on the sole condition of an end to U.S. interference. Yet, contrary to the provisions of the Guatemala agreement, Washington is continuing its aggressive policy in the region.

Political & Social

Further on 29 Jul CPSU Central Committee Plenum

Speakers, Activities Noted

PM2907231188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 88 First Edition p 1

["Information Report on CPSU Central Committee Plenum"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] A regular CPSU Central Committee Plenum took place on 29 July 1988.

The plenum examined the question "On Practical Work To Implement the Decisions of the 19th All-Union Party Conference." M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, presented a report on this question.

The plenum participants were given the opportunity to familiarize themselves beforehand with draft documents prepared by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo proceeding from the directives of the 19th all-union party conference.

The following spoke in the debate on the report: Comrades V.V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; V.P. Demidenko, first secretary of the Kustanay Kazakh Communist Party Obkom; Ye.D. Pokhitaylo, first secretary of the Omsk CPSU Obkom; I.S. Boldyrev, first secretary of the Stavropol CPSU Kraykom; N.F. Vasilyev, USSR minister of land reclamation and water resources; V.M. Kavun, first secretary of the Zhitomir Ukrainian Communist Party Obkom; Yu.F. Solovyev, first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom; K.Z. Terekh, USSR minister of trade; A.A. Khomyakov, first secretary of the Saratov CPSU Obkom; V.N. Pletneva, weaver at the Kostroma Flax Combine named for V.I. Lenin; B.K. Pugo, first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; A.F. Ponomarev, first secretary of the Belgorod CPSU Obkom; A.S. Systsov, USSR minister of the aviation industry; N.F. Tatarchuk, first secretary of the Kalinin CPSU Obkom; Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee; and V.A. Bykov, USSR minister of the medical and microbiological industry.

M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a concluding speech at the plenum.

The plenum adopted a resolution on the question discussed, which will be published in the press.

The plenum also adopted resolutions "On Reports and Elections in Party Organizations" and "On the Basic Directions of Restructuring the Party Apparatus," which will be published in the press.

The plenum adopted a Central Committee Politburo proposal for the formation of a CPSU Central Committee commission under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to prepare proposals connected with implementing the reform of the political system of Soviet society.

With this the CPSU Central Committee Plenum ended its work.

Gorbachev Delivers Report

PM2907221988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 88 First Edition pp 1-3

["On Practical Work To Implement the Decisions of the 19th Party Conference. Report by M.S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at 29 July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Comrades!

The Politburo decided to convene this plenum to discuss practical measures to fulfill the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference—a conference which became a most important political landmark in restructuring.

At this conference we all felt particularly keenly that a firm view that it is necessary to intensify work to implement the practical tasks of restructuring has become established in the party and society. This was stated at full volume, particularly by delegates representing production collectives.

There was a unanimous demand that there should be no foot dragging or biding time, that it is necessary to react more keenly to shortcomings and failures and to act resolutely, eliminating all barriers and obstacles in our path. The delegates' speeches not only contained concern about the course of affairs but, we frankly acknowledge, also expressed discontent at how party, soviet, and economic organs and our leadership cadres are operating.

It has to be stated bluntly, comrades, that time is pressing us. Why?

First, the report and election campaign in the party is beginning.

When we discussed with you the question of the timing of the all-union conference, we proceeded from the premise that it would be held on the eve of the reports and elections in the party so that Communists' report and election meetings and rayon, city, okrug, oblast, and kray party organization conferences would be held on the basis of the political guidelines of the all-union forum.

Furthermore, we agreed at the conference that it is essential right now, without wasting any time, to organize all work relating to the reform of the political system with a view to ensuring that elections can be held on a new legal basis and a USSR congress of people's deputies convened in the spring of next year.

The conference delegates resolutely advocated the further deepening of the economic reform since the implementation of fundamental socioeconomic tasks and the improvement of the people's life is linked with this.

Thus, from whatever angle you approach it, there is no time to lose. It is necessary to act, and to act resolutely, and to increase exactingness for the resolution of practical questions, which are assuming an increasingly acute political nature.

In general, comrades, the time for action, for practical deeds, has come; a time of growing responsibility on the part of all party organizations, all our cadres, all collectives, and every working person.

During these past weeks, we have all had an opportunity to ponder once again the significance of the conference, to thoroughly assess its results and the decisions it adopted. It can be said that an unprecedented event in the life of the party has occurred. The conference shook up the whole of society. Its very atmosphere—uninhibited, polemical, principled, and exacting, with a frank discussion of ripe problems—was a very major contribution to restructuring.

The conference, which was held in a new moral-political atmosphere, an atmosphere of realism, enriched the party with new experience of a nationwide political school, the school of glasnost and democracy. The interest in this conference is not abating. A committed discussion of all the questions which it raised and resolved is going on. The conference also generated a broad response throughout the world.

The conference convincingly demonstrated once again the powerful potential of our party. I would say that the party has, as it were, squared its shoulders, drawn itself up straight, and begun to talk confidently in a full voice, innovatively, and with a sense of tremendous responsibility to the people. The conference confirmed that the CPSU is the real driving force of restructuring, its initiator and acknowledged leader, reflecting the fundamental interests of the people and socialism. This is the most important political result of our party conference.

In a word, it can be confidently stated today that after the conference both the party and society are no longer what they were before. The preparation and holding of the conference raised to new heights our understanding of the country's past, present, and future alike.

The delegates sharply criticized the mistakes and crimes of the past. At the same time, they categorically rejected attempts to wipe out the Soviet people's historical achievements. The progress of restructuring, its achievements, shortcomings, and defects, were assessed from principled positions at the conference. It can be confidently said that the conference brought us to new assessments of the problems and tasks of our journey along the path of renewing society.

The conference demonstrated the tremendous aspiration of Communists and the entire people to consistently advance restructuring, to make it irreversible, and to vigorously resolve practical questions in all areas of domestic and foreign policy.

At the same time, it showed that conservative sentiments, nostalgia for the past, and attempts to sow doubts and depict restructuring not as an historic creation but virtually as social destabilization have still far from been overcome in society. This also cannot be disregarded if we wish to remain realists in policy.

The conference delegates called strictly to account those party committees which are still being slow to change the style and methods of their activity and which in many instances fail to display the readiness and ability to work under conditions of openness, conduct discussions, argue, persuade comrades, and accept criticism in a Bolshevik manner as V.I. Lenin taught.

Some people are simply frightened by the upsurge in people's energy and their awakened sociopolitical activeness. Verbally they are in favor of restructuring, but with pocket democracy; in favor of glasnost, but with modulated criticism; in favor of renewal, but in a way that for them personally everything remains as normal, as of old. The struggle against freeloading is finding it hard going. Exacting demands of specific people for specific matters are lacking.

The delegates showed convincingly that the braking mechanism, although partly broken, still maintains its potency in many respects. The conference helped to ascertain where and how old structures and methods are standing in the way of innovation, obstructing it, and preventing it from developing. But it also showed that many constraints on restructuring originate in the imperfect conception of some steps which are taken, incompetence, and other subjective factors. All this put together provides us with a truthful picture of what we have already achieved at this stage of restructuring and what is still to be resolved, and without delay.

In the final analysis, comrades—and this is very important for the Central Committee—the conference gave us all extra realism in assessing the progress of restructuring. It demonstrated society's determination to move forward, overcoming the conservatism and braking. At the same time, it opposed any pseudorevolutionary slogans divorced from life, maximalist demands, and utopian attempts to restructure everything at a single stroke.

The preparations for the conference and the conference itself developed into a political check of cadres' maturity, political culture, and readiness for democratic forms of action. Our urgent tasks, reserves, and most effective forms and methods of work were highlighted particularly clearly. We formulated and adopted at the conference decisions incorporating a broad spectrum of transformations which must activate the potential forces of the free self-development of socialist society.

Pondering once again the results of the conference and the discussions which took place, comrades, we must firmly gear ourselves up to effecting a resolute turnaround in the direction of practical actions.

The conference showed that both in the party and among the people, in the wake of support for restructuring, a demand, which was repeatedly violated in the past, is being made particularly persistently—a demand for unity of word and deed and responsibility for your actions, and equally for inaction. Party cadres are obliged to apply this immutable party law first and foremost to themselves. There is a need for action and for verification of the execution of adopted decisions. Otherwise, relapses into old mistakes are inevitable. That, essentially, was the unanimous opinion of the delegates.

I could confine myself to these brief observations in talking about the results of the conference. But I wish to repeat again and again: The time has come for vigorous action, comrades, and there can be no delaying. Only practical actions to implement the political guidelines formulated by the conference will make restructuring irreversible.

What is the Politburo doing in this respect?

First, a package of drafts embodying the proposals of conference participants has been elaborated. These relate primarily to food, trade, and consumer goods and services—that is, everything that has a direct impact on people and relates to their daily needs and concerns. You have the documents in your hands; this saves me from spelling them out in detail.

Next, I wish to inform you about how we have approached the implementation of the proposals and critical remarks expressed by the delegates. The Politburo has assigned all questions needing to be resolved expeditiously to Communists working in the relevant organizations and leadership cadres. Assignments have also been made for long-term problems with deadlines set for preparing specific proposals. The Politburo will keep an eye on all this work.

I.

Comrades! The concrete situation taking shape is that the implementation of the party conference decisions coincides with the report and election campaign in the party. I think you will agree that the forthcoming reports and elections will be different from all previous ones.

All this makes it incumbent on us—the Central Committee and local party committees—to make thorough preparations and to hold the report and election campaign at the highest standard. It should be clear to everyone that party organizations will carry out a strict self-scrutiny and undergo a responsible examination before society.

Obviously there will be a direct, open, honest, and truly party-minded discussion of how every one of us is fulfilling the task with which he is charged, what contribution he is making to restructuring, and whether everyone's words about his support for restructuring are backed up by the necessary actions. This approach should form the basis for discussion at the party meetings and conferences. And that is right, comrades. It accords with the conference's demands—a more businesslike approach, more results.

That is why the party debate must be focused on the question: What must be done to give restructuring greater dynamism and greater effectiveness, to put an end to delays in getting things moving, to strike a final blow against everything that hampers our progress.

That is why it is important to hold party meetings and conferences democratically and openly [glasno], to prevent any tendency to overorganize, and to offer wide scope for objective assessments of the state of affairs and of all the issues that people are concerned about.

In short, at the report and election meetings and party conferences of Communists we must continue the discussion begun at the 19th party conference, with an equally principled, responsible, and businesslike approach. The state of affairs requires precisely this approach.

It may be said with confidence that the elections of leading party organs will also now be conducted in a new way. Listening to the conference delegates, we were convinced that the Communists will be very exacting in selecting the party's leadership personnel. They will decide from principled standpoints who is to be entrusted with the leadership of party organizations at this important stage of restructuring, now that we have entered the phase of practical actions in its key avenues. It is necessary immediately to put into operation the conference recommendations on the procedure for nominating and discussing candidacies and including on the ballot paper for the secret ballot a greater number of candidates than there are places, and to exercise the right to nominate candidates for higher party organs from below. In general, everything must be done as we agreed at the party conference, and in the same atmosphere as prevailed there.

In view of the importance of the tasks that the forthcoming report and election campaign is to tackle, the Politburo deemed it expedient to adopt a special resolution of the CPSU Central Committee plenum on this issue. This is the first time that we have taken such a step, but the situation itself dictates it. At the same time, the need arises to make amendments to the instructions on elections. You have the proposals on this score, and you will, of course, express your opinions on them.

I also wish to draw attention to another matter that will naturally arise in the course of the report and election campaign. I refer to the fulfillment of the conference's proposals regarding limiting the term in leading party posts to two successive terms. The conference recommended that this rule come into force beginning with the forthcoming report and election campaign. What approach should there be here?

I believe that the counting of terms should begin from the present elections. The law is not, so to speak, retroactive. This would seem to be quite clear. At the same time, in the course of the report and election party meetings and conferences Communists may, of course, find that questions arise concerning what to do about comrades who have already been in elected posts for a long time. But the party statutes give Communists the full right to decide the question of electing or not electing any party worker regardless of his time in a particular post. Here the decisive significance is attached not to how many years' work the leader has done, but to how he copes with his duties and whether he enjoys the trust and support of Communists and working people. That is the main criterion which should guide us in forming elected organs. This must be stated frankly in the Central Committee plenum resolution.

Another matter that should be determined here at the plenum arises from the fact that the conference came out in favor of forming a CPSU Central Control and Auditing Commission with local organs. Should we not begin the formation of these organs from below in the course of these reports and elections? Then we will not only speed up the process, but we will be able to accumulate initial experience and interpret it before the congress. Another option is also possible: to do it on the eve of the congress. Let us consult.

While speaking of the forthcoming report and election campaign and the problems and questions that we have to tackle in the course of it, I would like particularly to touch on the activity of primary party organizations. It is here that the report and election campaign in the party begins. But even that is not the main point. The main point is that the primary party organization is now in a new situation, both as a result of the commencement of restructuring processes in the economic and social sphere, and as a result of the democratization of the life of the labor collectives and the whole of society. That is only natural. All practical matters are resolved locally, in the labor collectives. Therefore, the party committees must pay due attention to the activity of primary party organizations at the present crucial stage in the life of the party and society. Here there is much that must be reinterpreted to enable us to act in such a way as to exercise the party's functions as political vanguard and take into account both the implementation of economic reform and the widening of the labor collectives' rights.

It is well known that in the course of the debates that preceded the conference and at the conference itself there was much talk of enhancing the role of the party's elected organs. In this connection I would like to say the following. We must give thought to ensuring that the newly elected party committees begin on their very first day in office to implement the ideas put forward by the conference. In particular, we must ensure that all members of elected party organs continuously take part in the study, interpretation, and discussion of key issues in the life of the party organizations.

Here the path we should take is, clearly, not only to involve the members of party committees in the initial preparation of questions to be discussed at plenums and bureau sessions on one occasion, but to make this a regular process, first and foremost by means of setting up appropriate commissions on the most important questions of party activity. I also think that we should adhere to the statutory requirement to brief plenums regularly on the work of the party committee bureaus.

At the conference we agreed to implement within the context of the reform of the political system all the necessary measures to delimit the functions of party committees and state and economic organs and in this connection to take practical steps to improve the structure and activity of the party apparatus. In order to discuss the basic principles for resolving this task, the Politburo has prepared proposals for the basic guidelines for the reorganization of the party apparatus. You have these proposals, and during the debate you will obviously express your views and remarks in this regard.

The conference advocated that the principle that the party apparatus is strictly subordinate and accountable to elected party organs be unswervingly observed. The new apparatus must, above all, help them, help the party as a whole, to fully fulfill the functions of society's political vanguard. That is the whole crux. Therefore, it is necessary to completely relieve the party apparatus of economic administrative functions, to focus its work on the key directions of domestic and foreign policy, and to shift the emphasis to political methods of leadership. This must be reflected in both the structure and the cadre composition of the apparatus. The apparatus must be highly competent and considerably smaller in size than it is at present. Naturally, questions of the correct utilization of the released personnel will arise. Trained cadres are concentrated in the party apparatus. Their knowledge and experience must be used most efficiently in the interests of society while taking account, of course, of the wishes of the released comrades themselves. I don't think we can have any argument about this.

The elaboration of the basic parameters of the structure of the party apparatus could be entrusted to the Politburo, and the resolution of specific structural and staff questions, as Central Committee members have repeatedly proposed, could be devolved to local party organs.

Now a few words about the soviets. The restructuring of their activity is a most important task of the political reform. After the party elections we must hold elections of USSR people's deputies and reorganize the country's supreme state organs and the organs of power in republics, krays, oblasts, okrugs, cities, rayons, settlements, and rural areas. And we must do all this within 1 year.

It is perfectly clear that the implementation of such large-scale tasks is possible only on an appropriate legal base. To this end it is necessary to prepare a number of substantial additions and changes to the Constitution and to legislation on elections, to refer them for consideration by this fall's USSR Supreme Soviet session, and to adopt certain other legal acts.

This will require the study of a wide range of questions concerning statewide interests. The Politburo deems it expedient to create a special Central Committee commission in this connection. Proposals regarding this have been circulated. If you have any remarks, please speak out. I would merely like to ask you to agree to including in the commission, in addition to Central Committee members, the four first secretaries of union republic communist party central committees who are not currently members of the party Central Committee.

Clearly, the commission must organize its work in such a way that it relies on the opinion of scientists, practical workers, and the public at large itself. After this we will clearly have to meet for a Central Committee plenum on the eve of the USSR Supreme Soviet session in order to complete the preparation of the proposals to be referred for its consideration.

Without touching on everything that the commission will have to do, I would like to highlight the question of forming the corps of people's deputies, since this is one of the key questions. We must implement a whole complex of transformations, creating the necessary preconditions for this in the law on elections. Their chief aim is to ensure real representation of all strata of the people in the soviets and to ensure that people capable of implementing the new functions under conditions of an emphatic increase in the soviets' role are elected as deputies.

Of course, we must abandon the regulation of the composition of deputies. There must be no restrictions on nominating candidates. Voters should be given the right to have a real choice both at the stage of discussing and nominating candidates and at the stage of voting. This means that ballot papers must, as a rule, show more candidates than there are seats. In fact, the party conference unequivocally advocated such a procedure.

When it comes to the organization of the elections themselves, the experiment has shown that elections for multiseat electoral okrugs are best suited to rural, settlement, okrug, rayon, and city soviets. There voters have a better knowledge of their candidates and will be able to make a correct choice when they have a list of them. I think the institution of reserve deputies is also proving its worth.

As for the other local soviets, and for people's deputies of the USSR and of the union and autonomous republics, clearly it would be advisable to elect them in single-seat okrugs. But here, too, of course, it is necessary to provide labor collectives and social organizations with the opportunity to nominate an unlimited number of candidate deputies. Meetings of the okrug's voters will democratically decide whom to put on the ballot papers, proceeding, of course, from the premise that a choice of candidates must be ensured in the voting.

Here is another issue. At the conference we agreed that one-third of the total number of USSR people's deputies should be directly elected by social organizations. We think that this principle for organizing the country's supreme authority could be extended, with some amendments, to union and autonomous republics and accordingly this could be enshrined in their constitutions.

The role of territorial electoral commissions is increasing in connection with the great changes in the procedure for electing deputies and the extension of the term of local soviets' powers. Clearly, it is expedient to make these commissions permanent organs and to expand their powers both in organizing elections and in convening the first congresses and sessions of soviets of people's deputies. This will really signify that the organization of elections has been placed in the hands of the public.

The preparation of the laws on elections must be approached creatively and regional and national features must be taken into account. For instance, if the laws on elections to local soviets differ in some respects in the different republics, then this will only enrich our democratic experience and new opportunities will emerge for the further development of the electoral system.

The legislative acts that are in preparation must provide for the right of deputies to decide questions at sessions by secret ballot and to determine what sources shall be used to remunerate the deputy's labor during the period when he is relieved of his production and official duties. Questions of creating local soviet presidiums and also of electing soviet chairmen need to be enshrined in the Constitution.

It is necessary to provide soviets and their ispolkoms with suitable conditions so that they can properly perform their new functions. It is necessary to create an appropriate material and legal base and to form a complex of incentives inducing the soviets to display a new approach to the performance of their duties. In this connection, an immediate start should clearly be made to preparing a law on local self-management and the local economy which would strengthen local soviets in a legal, material, and financial respect. There must be only one approach here: Everything that can be resolved at the local level must be handled by the local soviet.

The legal reform is closely linked with the democratization of soviets' activity.

We can carry out the reorganization of the courts within a short time frame. The preparation of the drafts of appropriate acts on these questions is now being completed.

Something that is of great importance is the revision of criminal legislation, the narrowing of the list of offenses in criminal legislation which entail criminal liability, and the broader use of penalties which do not involve deprivation of liberty. It is proposed to publish the drafts of the new criminal laws for nationwide discussion. At the same time work will take place on criminal procedure legislation, correctional labor legislation, and the criminal codes of the union republics.

As for the role of defense attorneys and the preliminary investigation, drafts regarding their improvement are now in preparation and will be submitted for discussion in the very near future. There is the possibility before the end of the year of preparing and adopting acts concerning the legal service in the national economy, the expansion of the functions of the arbitration service, and the organization of universal legal education in our country.

Thus, comrades, the following sequence of urgent tasks in the sphere of state building is emerging:

First, it is necessary to prepare a draft USSR Law on the Election of People's Deputies in the USSR and to submit it for nationwide discussion in early October this year.

In the second half of November, it is proposed to convene a USSR Supreme Soviet session to which the draft changes and additions to the USSR Constitution and the draft Law on Election will be submitted for approval. At the same time, this session could agree to hold elections of USSR people's deputies in March 1989. It is also expedient for the session to examine the drafts of the new Fundamentals of Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics on the Judicial System in the USSR and the Law on the Status of Judges in the USSR.

If you support the idea, comrades, it is proposed that the CPSU Central Committee, exercising the right to initiate legislation, submit for discussion by the session the question of tasks to improve the structure and activity of organs of state power and justice in light of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference.

I must also immediately mention the questions that could be referred to the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies in April 1989. It will have to elect the USSR Supreme Soviet and the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

On the submission of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, approval can then be given to the first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, as well as the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the chairman of the People's Control Committee, and the chairman of the Supreme Court, who will be entrusted with submitting to the USSR Supreme Soviet proposals regarding the membership of their respective organs. At the same time, the Congress of People's Deputies could appoint the USSR prosecutor general and chief state arbiter and form the Constitutional Oversight Committee.

At the first session of the newly elected USSR Supreme Soviet it will be necessary to form the USSR Council of Ministers and other organs accountable to the Supreme Soviet. Questions relating to the development of the youth movement in the country, the rights of trade unions, voluntary societies, the press, and a number of other matters were very actively discussed at the party conference. In this connection it is necessary to conduct matters in such a way as to ensure that right from the first steps in the activity of the country's supreme legislative, executive [rasporyaditelnyy], and control organ these most important political, legislative, and legal questions are within its field of vision.

Comrades! The fact that our state is multinational imparts a special nature and a complexion and identity of its own to the political reform. As is well known, there is no such thing as a problem that is solved once and for all. And this applies especially to the nationalities problem.

It is scarcely necessary to prove that the nature of the development of national relations is of paramount importance to our union state and that the nationalities policy is for our Communist Party and the Soviet state the most complex policy, and at the same time an important and necessary policy. This is natural, for economic, social, and spiritual problems are tied together in a tight knot in this policy.

As is well known, the conference supported the Politburo's proposal on holding a Central Committee plenum on questions of national relations. Serious preparations must be made for this, with the public, scientific circles, and representatives of the republics being widely involved. Ideas and proposals must be accumulated.

What would I like to say by way of a preliminary, under the influence of the repeated discussion of these problems in the Politburo and at the recent USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session? First, a few words about the reasons for the present complication of interethnic relations in a number of regions of the country.

Pride of place among these reasons certainly goes to the consequences of the many years of inattention to the specific socioeconomic and spiritual demands of the many nations and ethnic groups making up our country.

Another equally important reason is the insufficiently effective control on the part of the masses over the activity of leading cadres, as a result of which certain personnel lost a sense of responsibility for the work entrusted to them and, what is more, embarked on the road of abusing power, showing contempt toward people and disregarding their needs and interests.

There is also another reason. I refer to the active reaction of corrupt groups to restructuring. It must frankly be said that in a number of places they have managed to channel natural national feelings into a destructive nationalist channel. This is no accident, of course. Nationalist passions are advantageous to all antirestructuring forces. By inflaming interethnic conflicts, they are trying to distract public opinion and to duck responsibility for their actions during the years of stagnation. I am convinced that our people, who have accumulated tremendous international experience, will not allow anyone to encroach on the unity of our union and the friendship and fraternity among people of all nationalities of our motherland.

It is also necessary to think about improving Soviet legislation on these questions. In particular, increasing liability for inflaming national strife and preaching racial or national exclusiveness. This follows directly from Article 36 of the USSR Constitution.

There is no need to say how attentive we must be to the development of native languages and national cultures, the conservation of nature and historical monuments, and everything that determines the identity of each nation and ethnic group and its unique contribution to the common treasury of Soviet culture, which is characterized by multifacetedness and the diversity of national hues. In short, we must view any question, no matter where it may arise, in the interconnected context of all-union life and examine it from broad party and statewide positions.

What is primarily required now? Paramount importance must be attached to the elaboration and implementation of large-scale measures to further develop and strengthen our union.

Proposals on delimiting the competence of the USSR and the union republics and devolving a number of management functions to the republics must be prepared. It is necessary to determine the optimum scenarios for the possible transition of republics and regions to the principles of economic accountability and for the development of direct ties between them, with their contribution to resolving all-union programs being precisely concretized.

At the same time it is necessary to embark on the renewal of legislation on union and autonomous republics, autonomous oblasts, and okrugs. It is also a question of expanding legal guarantees in implementing the national and cultural demands of nationalities living outside their own state territorial formations or not possessing such formations.

The new functions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities and the procedure for forming, if necessary, standing commissions on questions of interethnic relations in soviets at all levels need to be clearly defined.

Taking into account the special acuteness of problems of language policy, it would clearly be worth preparing and submitting for broad discussion a draft union law on the free development and equal utilization of languages of the USSR peoples.

Today we must also reaffirm that membership of the Communist Party is incompatible with nationalism and chauvinism. V.I. Lenin created the Bolshevik party as a party internationalist in spirit, program, and national makeup. There can be no justification for a Communist who has adopted positions of chauvinism or nationalism. This is essentially a deviation from one of the party's most important political principles. Every Communist must remember this.

II.

Comrades! As you know, the discussion of such problems as food, housing, and the provision of the population with goods and services assumed particular acuteness at the conference. Furthermore, the delegates were very severe in their assessments. This is understandable, because the solution of the most important issues determining the level of the people's well-being has been very much protracted and the lag here has assumed a chronic nature.

I shall dwell primarily on the food question. The Politburo considers that urgent and radical measures are needed here of both a current and long-term nature.

In the specific situation of the present year when many regions of the Volga, Urals, Siberia, and Kazakhstan have been subjected to drought, they are aimed not just at maintaining the level of food supply but also at ensuring an improvement of this level. Such an arrangement is not only essential, but is also realistic. First, the situation has rectified itself somewhat in recent weeks. Second—and perhaps this is the most important point—the work at the local level is now geared to harvesting and preserving in full the crops that have been grown and to making rational use of this harvest. In saying this, I have in mind both food and feed crops.

Here, I would say, lies the center of gravity for the entire work of the current year. Much work still lies ahead, and it must be conducted in an organized fashion. I think that not only the rural workers but also city workers realize very well the situation that has taken shape and, as we can see, they are really doing everything they can to prevent a deterioration of the situation on the food front. Finally, if need be, we will also use external sources to replenish the country's food resources.

All this work must be performed persistently and consistently, tackling practical questions step by step. It is obviously worth stressing once again that the food question is a fundamental sociopolitical issue and any failure completely to understand its fundamental importance must be excluded.

Now to turn to long-term tasks in tackling the food problem. The Politburo's considerations on this score have been presented to you. What is their essence?

First, the study of these questions shows that we have real opportunities to arrive by the end of the current 5-year plan period at the level of per capita consumption envisaged by the Food Program and by rational norms of nutrition as regards such basic products as bread and baked goods, pasta, confectionery, groats, potatoes and vegetables, vegetable oil and butter, whole milk products, eggs, and poultry. It will not be possible to achieve this for meat and fruit in the current 5-year plan. But even here it is possible to rectify the situation to a considerable degree.

These conclusions are based on a preliminary study of the whole package of issues with the union and autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts. I do not want to repeat everything mentioned in the proposals which have been distributed to you. But I think it is necessary to cite certain of the most important figures. In particular, it is a question of increasing procurements by the year 1990 as against the 5-year plan targets as follows: livestock and poultry by 2.5 million tonnes; milk by 4.3 million tonnes.

Here it should be stressed that all these products—as above-plan output—remain at the disposal of the republics, krays, and oblasts themselves. It is not, of course, an easy task to ensure the scheduled growth rates; it is a task which requires intelligent, persistent work, but the vested interest of everyone in the solution of this task is also obvious. Our greatest reserve is the struggle against losses and for the complete preservation and high-standard processing of the harvest and the livestock units' output. This is the shortest path to improving the food supply in the immediate future. The solution of this issue will help us to increase food resources by at least 15-20 percent. This will require far less time and expenditure than for building up the volume of production. Investment in eliminating losses and in processing is the most advantageous and the most efficient. This problem needs to be taken up by the whole people.

Second, the situation is such that in recent 5-year plans we invested enormous sums in agriculture but the return from this investment was insignificant.

Over the last 17 years, comrades, the volume of capital investment channeled into the development of agriculture amounted to R680 billion. The average annual value of the sector's fixed productive capital in the period 1986-1987 was 2.7 times greater than in the period 1971-1975; the index of power availability for labor was twice as high, and the capital-labor ratio was three times as great. Deliveries of mineral fertilizers last year increased 2.6 times in comparison with 1970 and amounted to 122 kg per hectare of arable land. This is by no means everything that was given to agriculture. But over these 17 years its gross output increased by only 25 percent, grain production increased by a mere 16 percent, cotton production by 6 percent, and sugar beet by 12 percent, while potato production even declined by 9 percent.

In certain regions the situation is even worse. The return on capital investment in agriculture is very low in Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirghizia, and Turkmenia. While in Pskov and Novgorod Oblasts over the 17 years gross agricultural output has declined 12-25 percent, even though the capital availability increased 3-4 times. The point is that it is not here just a matter of the unfavorable conditions of the non-Chernozem zone where great difficulties have taken shape through history. Consider such oblasts as Kirovograd, Chernigov, and Vinnitsa. Here, though capital has increased 100-150 percent, the gross output of production has essentially not increased at all. Moreover, in these oblasts the gross harvests of sugar beet, sunflowers, and potatoes have declined, and the increase in meat and milk production has been insignificant.

We are bound to be disturbed by the alarming processes taking place in the country's agriculture. What are the reasons for such phenomena? We must, comrades, give the kind of response to this question which will reveal the essence of the problem.

Of course, each region and each farm has its own specific problems and these have their specific causes. But there is one reason in common, and I would say that it is the main reason for the fact that capital investments channeled into agriculture, into the agrarian sector, are not producing their due returns, are being utilized inefficiently, and in many instances are simply becoming frozen. This reason lies in the fact that practical steps to strengthen the countryside's material base are not simultaneously being backed up by the corresponding work to change economic relations in the countryside.

Today, comrades, we must state this most definitely at the Central Committe plenum, because it is a question of drawing up the main guideline for agrarian policy and the practical actions connected with it.

Finally, let us say bluntly that so far the majority of our cadres and agricultural leaders have been linking a further buildup of the production of output primarily with additional investments, new deliveries of resources, and so forth, and they have failed to see any other way. But, after all, we do have hundreds, thousands of kolkhozes and sovkhozes which under the same conditions and essentially with the same provision of resources are achieving considerable production and economic results.

Just you look and see what people working according to a family contract or a lease contract are doing. They are achieving incomparably higher indicators with the same material base, or with an inferior material base.

This very day I read in SELSKAYA ZHIZN a report about the work of lease contractors in Stavropol Kray. The place in question was the "Balkovskiy" Sovkhoz in Georgiyevskiy Rayon. I know that sovkhoz. It is a difficult farm with a constant manpower shortage. The use of the lease has made it possible to rectify the situation. And it emerges that less equipment is needed, although the results are better. They get the kind of harvests they never got before. People's attitude to the matter is changing and that is the main thing. The sovkhoz director calculated that if lease relationships are developed, then instead of 90 machine operators which are now employed on gathering the harvest, only 50 persons will be needed. This means that the cadres problem, too, about which there is so much talk today, is also being resolved.

A lot has already been said about lease relationships; much is being written about them and there are plenty of facts on this score. Furthermore, such experience is now also available in all regions, in all zones of the country, and in all branches of the agrarian sector. It is yielding results everywhere.

Surely this experience indicates that the key to success lies in the changed attitude of people to labor? But this can only be achieved by radically changing economic relations in the countryside. Our task is to restructure them in such a way that the peasant really does become the master on the land and can properly apply all his energy, knowledge, and abilities here.

The essence of the transformations consists in using in practice the most diverse forms of the implementation of socialist ownership. We will be able to resolve this task on the basis of the ubiquitous and widespread introduction of full economic accountability and self-recoupment, the contract and lease, the alteration in this connection of intra-production ties within the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, the development of various forms of cooperative activity, the creation of family livestock units and other production facilties operating in conditions of the long-term lease of land, the development of agro-industrial combines, agro-firms, and all kinds of incentives for the personal subsidiary plot.

In a nutshell, we must open up a broad highway of independence and responsibility for producers, and develop agricultural markets in every way.

Let no one among us be embarrassed by the fact that the means of production remain at the disposal of the peasant for his long-term use on the basis of a contract with the farm. There is nothing nonsocialist about that. This is very real socialism, because it brings man to the forefront. Socialism above all must put an end to the alienation of man from the means of production, from politics, and from the achievements of culture.

We should not restrict ourselves to the introduction of economic accountability at the level of the kolkhoz or sovkhoz. It needs to be given its second wind through the lease. A person must be given an opportunity to develop his talent as a master and to work on the land in the way that he thinks fit. And he knows better than you and I how this must be done. Don't let that bother you. On this path we will not tolerate defeat; on the contrary, we will achieve victory. It is essential that contract and especially lease forms of conducting agriculture should become widespread throughout the country.

These questions are so important for us now and for all subsequent stages of the improvement of economic relations in the countryside that I evidently need to say something in addition. From conversations with the leaders of oblast and kray party organizations and from the study of the situation on the spot, it emerges that by no means all those who have to be the inspirers of this matter possess a precise idea themselves about the essence of the issue.

Since 1983 we have been conducting work on a broad scale for the transition of kolkhozes and sovkhozes to various forms of collective contract with labor being remunerated on the basis of end results. Life has shown that this is an efficient way of conducting agriculture.

But at the same time, as I have already said, practice also suggests that the most radical forms of economic activity are now those which are based on the leasing of land and of the other means of production for long-term use with the lessees enjoying full economic independence. Incidentally, leases were widely used in our country until the mid-thirties, but then they were abolished. Under a lease, a person becomes the genuine master of the land and has a vested interest in seeing that the land and other means of production which he leases are used as efficiently as possible and yield the highest return.

And look what is being done in industry, comrades. Poorly operating shops and plants are being leased to people, and the first thing they are doing is reducing the number of workers by a third and the leadership component by between a half and two-thirds. They are really getting down to business, and are resurrecting enterprises in 7 or 8 months, or a year at the most. And our workers are thinking along state lines. They are by no means merely self-seeking. They are thinking not only about their earnings but also about how to develop production, how to form production funds in order to build up production and boost its technical standard. And there is nothing surprising in such an approach: This is our own Soviet person, he was born in Soviet times and has been reared by Soviet power!

Leasing relationships permit the fuller realization of the potential of socialist ownership, and with their help we can guarantee the interests of society and incentives for highly productive and efficient labor. And not only, I repeat, incentives of a material nature. The individual acquires the opportunity to reveal and realize his own abilities in work, to bring his creative potential to light, to show himself. And this brings him great satisfaction.

In general, we have made a start on profound transformations, and if they are to be accomplished consistently and bear fruit, we need great, comprehensive, and competent work, knowledge, and an understanding of the essence of the economic relationships emerging in the countryside.

Clearly, we cannot avoid the adoption of a special law on leasing. Why must we do this? Because we still have many working people of a different standard, people who do nothing to move things forward but who stubbornly block the initiative, opinions, and proprietorial interests of others. A law must guarantee all those who so wish the opportunity to work in the new conditions and give them confidence in the state's protection. A lease should, evidently, be a long-term matter and be granted for, say, 25-30 or even 50 years. In general, the question must be put as follows: No one has the right to prevent people working under lease conditions.

We must tackle the liquidation of inefficient farms more boldly, and transfer their lands and other means of production on a competitive basis to those kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and industrial enterprises and those collective or individual lessees capable of ensuring management a high return. It will probably be necessary to adopt a new law on land utilization as well.

Insofar as we are now running up against the conservative positions of kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders and specialists and leading workers of other levels, we see the primary task of party committees as creating a businesslike atmosphere and the necessary conditions to eliminate those impediments. We cannot manage without sound ideological and organizational work from the party organizations or without the assistance of the trade unions and the Komsomol.

Comrades, let us come to an agreement at our plenum today. We will no longer tolerate idle talk about these issues. Life has everywhere confirmed the effectiveness of the new forms of production relations in the countryside, and of the new approaches to the organization of and incentives for agricultural labor. And we must eliminate all barriers in the way of their universal application. This is a nationwide task. Its solution is not simply a wish but a demand dictated by the very logic of our development at the stage of restructuring.

While resolutely expressing our support for the transformation of economic relations in the countryside, we must emphasize from the very start that this work demands the greatest responsibility. We must exclude all extremes by learning the lessons of our past. Both sluggishness and an artifical forcing of the pace, running ahead of ourselves, are impermissible in this important area. And the main thing: In resolving these issues we must proceed from life itself. We must be guided by common sense, and we must consult with people and make use of the vast experience we already possess.

And one more thing. We are also talking about the radical restructuring of interfarm relations and management. We have already admitted once that the present system of management of the agro-industrial complex has not had any special effect and is becoming obsolete; it is not worth holding on to. We must effect a broad shift to the voluntary creation by kolkhozes and sovkhozes of joint management bodies to replace the rayon agro-industrial associations, and move to cooperative forms of production-technical and economic services for farms. Moreover, these principles are worth extending to the higher levels of management of the agro-industrial complex as well. We should not delay in reorganizing the agro-industrial complex. We must finally sever all these channels or threads via which commands are issued from above.

I read a letter in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA from a group of Gorkiy Oblast kolkhoz chairmen. They complained that the kolkhozes were obliged to maintain the entire structure of higher management through their own incomes, and to deduct for its upkeep 15 percent of net profit and 10 percent of the amortization sum. What good is this? Who needs this apparatus? And the main thing is that this same V.A. Starodubtsev and the other farm leaders have demonstrated that this apparatus can and must be reduced several times over.

Finally, comrades, as you know, the conference delegates were resolutely in favor of allocating the necessary resources for the social development of the countryside, given the limitation of capital investment in other spheres. Essentially, what we need is a nationwide program for the construction in the countryside of houses, schools, hospitals, roads, and municipal, consumer service, communications, and trade facilities—generally speaking, everything today's individual needs to live and work normally. Even now we must step up the pace of the countryside's social development [obustroystvo]. This is now being done in many oblasts and republics. And—this goes without saying—to this end we must decisively change the thrust of the 13th 5-Year Plan's capital investments. Such is our political directive to planning organizations and the government.

And again, comrades. Just 2 days ago I was chatting with V.P. Demidenko. How has the situation in Kustanay Oblast in terms of providing the population with agricultural products progressed and changed? Naturally, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes have made the decisive contribution. But the switch to contract principles, and to new incentives for private subsidiary plots, has also been of great significance. With them, there are 250 head of cattle to every 100 farmsteads.

But all this, comrades, requires work with the people; it requires reserves in the feed base. This is when such opportunities arise. Fine experience in the integration of private plots with kolkhozes and sovkhozes on a contractual basis has been gained in Belorussia and the Baltic republics. And again this is socialism! Has this truly been incomprehensible to some people until now?

Generally speaking, comrades, returning to the whole complex of problems I have discussed, we have at today's plenum approached the formulation of a realistic political guideline for the entire country—how to tackle the solution of the food question. I ask you to speak your mind on these issues.

Now about the proposals to accelerate the increase in goods and services for the population. The chief path here is clear. It is the creation of a powerful consumer goods industry as quickly as possible. The appropriate decisions on light industry have already been made, and they must be implemented more rapidly, incorporating for this the essential economic mechanism ensuring the vested interest of all labor collectives in increasing the production of goods for the people.

It is now a matter of additional measures to quicken the modernization of many light and food industry enterprises by importing equipment, and also of the broader participation of heavy industry and the defense sectors in the production of consumer goods. A considerable acceleration is planned in the paid services sphere.

The investigation of these issues with the participation of ministries and departments and republic and local organs has shown that there is a real opportunity in 1989-90 to increase the production of nonfood consumer goods by R24 billion in excess of the 5-year plan targets—by R9 billion in 1989 and by R15 billion in 1990.

You have also been presented with the proposals on measures for the radical improvement of the sphere of paid services for the population. It is important to emphasize that in this 5-year plan their volume will grow by 15-20 percent a year in comparison with the projections in the comprehensive program. In 1990 this volume will be more than R70 billion, and by the end of the 13th 5-Year Plan it will have increased by 60 percent and will exceed R119 billion.

These are large-scale measures, and they will require the appropriate work both in the center and in the localities. But, while resolving the task of building up the consumer goods and paid services industries, we must also thoroughly tackle the improvement of the entire system of distribution, with emphasis on trade and public catering.

I mention this because the well-being of the working people and their moral and political demeanor depend not only on the quantity and quality of the material benefits and services produced—naturally, this is of decisive importance—but also on how we distribute them, and how trade and the service sector are organized.

Many of this sector's shortcomings are linked with the backwardness, and in many cases with the neglect, of its material base, which requires comprehensive expansion and its elevation to a modern technical standard. Such proposals have been formulated and submitted for your examination.

However, we can and must do a great deal, a very great deal, comrades, without delay; we must declare a resolute struggle against the unhealthy phenomena and processes that have become deeply ingrained here. It is a question, for instance, of preventing interruptions in the trade of goods that are in sufficient supply in the country. Hearing about the disappearance from the trade network—now here, now there—of salt, sugar, flour, and many other things which are not in short supply, you begin to think that there must be some people with an interest in preserving the shortages, or at least people who are completely devoid of a sense of public responsibility. All these questions must be placed under the supervision of party and soviet organs, under the supervision of the working people.

Or take such a widespread phenomenon as waiting in line. There are lines everywhere, in trade, in the service sector, in transport, at municipal economy enterprises, in health care, and in organizations and establishments that deal with the various requests of the working people. The problem has become so acute that we must attend to it in earnest and establish proper order. It is scandalous for many leading officials to calmly look on as the people wait in lines and to think there is no need for action to eliminate those lines. After all, this is nothing but a disrespectful and callous attitude toward the people.

For instance, Comrade L.N. Zaykov and I recently toured two factories of the Moscow "Zarya" footwear industrial and trade association. I came away from that visit with a good impression. I was greatly satisfied to see how people think, how they act, and how they discuss questions that are truly of statewide importance.

But then I talked to one of the female workers. Both she and her husband make good money. They have two children. Everything would appear to be fine—they have an apartment and good wages. So what is her problem? She replies: "Every day, Mikhail Sergeyevich, I have to spend 2, and sometimes 3 hours waiting in lines at stores. It is very tiring. I do not get as tired at work as I do waiting in line."

And that, comrades, is in Moscow where, for all that, one can buy anything. But even here people have to wait in endless lines. In one and the same store you have to wait in line first at one cash point and then another, and then back at the counter. People have to wait in line for hours after work to buy basic things that are available. How can we tolerate this?

All these questions, comrades, are questions that concern the soviets. And if a soviet leader does not see this, does not know how people feel about this, then we should not keep him in a leading position.

I want to say once again, comrades, that we must attend to the solution of these pressing problems without delay and in a businesslike fashion. Of course, there are also questions connected with the need to improve both the location and material and technical equipment of trade and service enterprises. The backwardness that has been allowed to accumulate here is great.

How should we approach the solution of this question?

The first thing that should come into anyone's head is to ask for money and contracts to build trade and service enterprises. Obviously, our plans must also take this into account. In view of the laggardness in this sector, the draft of our resolution on this question makes provision, among other things, for expanding new construction. However, if we chose only this path, the solution of problems, especially those which brook no delay, will drag on for many years. However, we must find a way to improve the situation in the very near future.

The Central Committee and the government are currently receiving requests for selected premises to be used to expand the trade and consumer service sphere. We resolutely support this. The Politburo and the government have stated their views on this unequivocally. We favor the handing over for this purpose of administrative buildings of various economic and also party and state institutions currently under construction, unless there is an absolute need for them.

I had a talk recently with writer V.P. Astafyev. We discussed how people live in Krasnoyarsk. The number of problems that have accumulated there! The problems affecting medical care are particularly acute; there are not enough maternity hospitals. At the same time, a huge sports complex is being built in the city. Of course, it, too, is needed. However, there are problems that will stand no delay and their solution must be given priority. The kraykom had a pretty good building in the city, but they built another one. Now the correct decision has been made to hand it over for services to the population.

And in general, comrades, we must be more resolute in ridding ourselves of all kinds of offices, reducing their number, and turning them over to accommodate trade and service enterprises and medical facilities. This is one side of the matter, so to speak. There is also another side that is no less important—the assimilation of the funds that have been allocated for the development of this sector. Let us agree that whatever has been allocated must be assimilated.

And party bodies must take this under their supervision. What has happened is that in the course of our work, we have involved ourselves in many economic matters, while sometimes ignoring questions that relate to the people's life as such. Yet our aim is to ensure that people live better and feel fine. Therefore, the main purpose of restructuring the work of party organs lies in ensuring that they attend to genuine party matters, to political, organizational, and ideological work and get closer to the people. Life itself is simply clamoring for this. This is the main argument for the need to restructure, comrades.

The strength of restructuring lies precisely in the fact that it has exposed all these questions and created the conditions for people to express their criticism, proposals, and assessments of the situation. Restructuring has created real opportunities for people to call to account those without a clear conscience and those who occupy leading positions by mistake.

Comrades, after all, what we are talking about are questions that can be resolved. They do not require the elaboration of long-term programs or scientific studies. A great deal can be done here by relying on local resources and local initiative, but the main thing is to establish order and constantly keep these questions in the field of vision.

I believe this discussion will not be in vain. We must all draw serious lessons from this and put things right.

Another question that demands great attention is the development of the construction industry's base. This was noted in the delegates' speeches. Having expanded the construction of housing and other social projects, we have encountered problems in the provision of construction materials, machinery, equipment, and so on. This question has been examined. Additional measures have been drawn up to achieve a considerable expansion in the production of construction materials. All this demands great effort and attention.

All the steps we are proposing, comrades, are in keeping with the directives of the conference which recommended that the next 5-year plan, the 13th, be elaborated with a view to stepping up the social thrust of our economy. Essentially, we can note even now that our work has been given a new impetus in this direction.

Comrades! We all witnessed the heated discussion that flared up at the conference around the problems of radical economic reform. What conclusions have we drawn from it?

First of all—basically and in the main—the avenues of economic reform that were chosen are correct. Moreover, it was reaffirmed yet again that the success of socioeconomic transformations can be achieved only through the consistent implementation and deepening of reform. And in general, reform as such was not questioned by anyone, although the progress of its implementation was sharply criticized.

The conference also confirmed something else: Reform is opposed by the forces of inertia and conservatism, which would like to surreptitiously bring it to a halt. For this purpose, they are making use of even the slightest opportunity, wavering, and mistakes that may arise in its path. I believe we can agree with the delegates' proposal on this question: Such people—those who stand in the way of reform—must be removed from leading work.

What must we do to accelerate the progress of economic reform? The Politburo has examined the government's conclusions on this question and the range of proposals connected with this.

First, we must, above all, resolutely overcome attempts to distort the essence of the new forms and methods of management and to cut short intentions to return the economic mechanism to the old rut.

This applies in particular to the question of the state order, which was so heatedly discussed at the conference in connection with the fact that in practice, it has become a covert form of directive planning of the volume of production. The government proposals in this area amount to a substantial reduction of the share of the state order in the overall volume of production and the concentration of the right to issue state orders in the hands of the Gosplan rather than sector ministries.

It is proposed to introduce a temporary provision on the state order for the next 2 years. The USSR Council of Ministers Presidium has discussed this question, and a large group of economic experts and scientists took part as well. A serious discussion was held, and they concluded that a temporary provision on the state order must be introduced, as the transition period demands precisely this approach. This is in view of the fact that the full embodiment of the idea of the state order can be implemented only in connection with the transition to wholesale trade in the means of production and a reform of the price-formation system. There is no shortcut here, so to speak.

Second, enterprises in all sectors must be switched over to full economic accountability, and the formation of the new economic mechanism must be completed. It should be stressed that the new economic mechanism can begin working to full capacity only on the basis of new price relations, given the formation of an efficiently operating socialist market, the normalization of finances, the creation of a ramified and effective banking system, and the introduction of wholesale trade. In addition, of course, it presupposes a corresponding reorganization of the managerial structure and a restructuring of the system of foreign economic relations.

At this point, I would like to emphasize the importance of the financial normalization of the national economy and the strengthening of the money supply. In preparing next year's plan and budget we should begin to reduce the budget deficit. To do so, we must carefully examine capital construction plans, seek to replace budget financing with bank credit on a broad scale, and resolutely cut other nonproduction expenditure. In short, it is important to learn to live within our means. In the initial period we could even reduce the volume of capital investment, and make up for it by drastically reducing the number of newly commenced and uncompleted construction projects.

As for the weak enterprises that are now sustained by ministerial crumbs, we could make wide use of the granting of credits on specific terms and, where necessary, reorganize, and, in extreme cases, eliminate such enterprises and turn them over to labor collectives or cooperatives on lease. We should not be afraid of this.

The normalization of the economy should also be promoted by the restructuring of the work of banks, their transfer to full economic accountability, and the development of a network of commercial banks.

Third, the conference discussed with interest the question of restructuring the managerial apparatus, with special emphasis on the role of ministries in the new system of economic management. This may be the most crucial avenue today in the reconstruction of the management system. And it is necessary to take a well-considered approach to the resolution of this question, making use of experience and the new functions both of management bodies and of enterprises, which should be subordinate first and foremost to the laws and to the rules of economic behavior laid down therein.

We must be frank in saying that the speed with which managerial bodies find their place under the new conditions and how successfully they master the new methods of economic management and build their relations with enterprises in the new way will be decisive in determining the prestige both of the management bodies themselves and of the cadres in the apparatus. A clear position was formulated at the conference—we cannot do without an up-to-date, competent, highly professional management apparatus. However, at the same time, this apparatus should resolutely restructure its work in light of the demands of radical economic reform and the new role of labor collectives.

Fourth, with the reform of the political system, the task of restructuring relations between enterprises and soviets arises. That is the right way to put the question. Essentially, it is a matter of creating an economic basis for self-management in the form of that part of social property that is allocated to local organs, including municipal services, the service system, the housing stock, urban transportation, and so forth.

This should not be taken to mean that instead of union ministries, republican and local organs will now command the enterprises. That would be a naive substitution of one system of command for another. All enterprises and associations have the right and duty to work for a single countrywide market, and to base their relations with one another on the equivalent exchange of output. As for their relations with local bodies, these should be backed up by appropriate legal norms and economic normatives.

We must make full use of the advantages of the territorial division of labor within the framework of the integrated national economic complex, and at the same time, through the growth of budget revenue, ensure that republican and local bodies have an interest in increasing the efficiency of the regional economy.

Fifth, it is proposed to grant labor collectives the right to autonomously choose one form or another of economic accountability and to step up interest in the use of its second model. That will mean renouncing the establishment from above of normatives for the formation of the wage fund and the distribution of profit. Relations within the production unit will be based on the distribution and utilization of income under economic accountability, while relations between the state and the enterprises will be governed by tax rates combined with the system of state privileges. That would be highly desirable, comrades.

While examining the problems of economic reform, I would like to speak once again of lease relations. These relations, while preserving both state and cooperative ownership, make it possible to overcome the feeling that "no one" owns things, so to speak, and will ensure the true economic autonomy and responsibility of workers and labor collectives and will guarantee a direct link between people's wages and the end results of their work. It is of fundamental importance that the lease contract leaves no room for command methods of management, since relations of subordination are transformed into contractual, mutually responsible relations of partnership. Therefore, the law on leasing which I have already discussed should be an act that applies to all sectors of the national economy.

We must remove all obstacles to the spread of lease relations and rapidly resolve the necessary legal questions, including the question of the length of lease. I have already spoken of this, but I will stress once again: Short leases will not stimulate investments in the development and modernization of production, and could even generate self-seeking sentiments. That is obvious. We also need firm lease payment rates, taking into account the interests of both the budget and the labor collectives.

In conclusion, comrades, I would like to touch on a few more issues that differ in their content but are, I believe, important for our work.

The first is science. The conference urgently raised the question of its development, noting that in a number of areas of fundamental significance we lag behind both the world standard of scientific development and the requirements of our society and national economy. One cannot but agree with this, comrades, which makes it incumbent upon us to pay very close attention to the realization of the assessments and demands of the conference.

I think the leaders of the USSR Academy of Sciences must once again return to its programs for the development of basic research and other avenues in the development of the country's science. Without active assistance from science we cannot cope with the tasks of restructuring.

State bodies, in turn, especially the USSR Gosplan and USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, must examine ways to radically improve the material base of science and revise structural and investment policy so as to ensure the creation of favorable conditions for the development of its priority areas. We have already resolved many questions, and we must speed up the preparation of decisions on the others.

The social sciences require special attention. We all felt the alarm at, and dissatisfaction with their present state, which was expressed at the party conference. It should be said once again that it is not only a question of science itself. To a significant degree, the present situation is a result of past attitudes toward the social sciences. Nevertheless, we must say that restructuring in this sphere lags behind the requirements of the times and the actual practice of restructuring. That cannot but cause us concern.

We must be frank in noting that today, many of our major scientific centers are satisfied with the role of commentators and critics, and yet fail to offer enough in the way of in-depth studies of contemporary problems posed by restructuring itself. To a significant degree, the resolution of those problems will determine both the course and the success of restructuring and its results.

I must also share this impression with you: Some of our scientists remain, I would say, where they were at the start of restructuring. They have not noticed that restructuring has already gone beyond the stage of rallies and has embarked on the profound transformation of every sector of Soviet social life. And that requires profound scientific analysis, the study of the essence of phenomena, and the interpretation of current processes. To me, this would appear to be what our social scientists lack.

The second question is the ecology. The poor situation in this area got a great deal of attention at the conference. Society is profoundly aware of the acuteness and urgency of this problem, and the public feels that radical changes are needed in our approaches here.

I would like to divide this question into two parts. Some questions do not require enormous capital expenditure and resources. Here it is a matter of organizing work properly and implementing the measures and programs that have already been drawn up. These urgent, concrete questions must be resolved with the participation of the relevant central departments and local bodies. And they should be examined and tackled promptly.

Other questions involve the discovery and use of major appropriations and corresponding changes in equipment and techniques. In general, these are long-term questions. All this, comrades, must be considered while drawing up a long-term state program for environmental conservation and the rational utilization of the USSR's natural resources. This work is already being done as part of the drafting of the plan for the 13th 5-Year Plan and for the longer term through the year 2005. It is in the context of this work that all the proposals put forward at the conference should be examined.

The third question is that of party policy toward young people. This was discussed in principle at the conference. The task is to transfer everything on to a footing of practical work. I think we should now set about preparing for a Central Committee plenum on these questions. Major work is required here. We cannot confine ourselves solely to examining the superficial problems. We need a long-term policy based on profound analysis and oriented toward the resolution of one of our society's vital tasks—the preparation of worthy successors.

And another thing, comrades. The conference itself and the debate that took place there showed how important it is to continue the work we have been doing all the years since April in the sphere of ideology. That is correct, for, having begun tasks on a historic scale, we cannot successfully fulfill them without interpreting the past and present and predicting the main trends for society's future development.

Our awareness of the full depth of Lenin's thinking on the significance of revolutionary theory is now particularly profound. We may say it frankly: What we have managed to do in the sphere of policy and practical work in this period, a short period in historical terms, and the fact that at this crucial historical stage the party is, on the whole, fulfilling the role of political vanguard and generator of ideas and moving forward in the main—we could not have achieved all this had we not concerned ourselves constantly and consistently with questions of theory and ideology.

Nevertheless, the conference once again showed forcefully that in the sphere of ideology, there can be no slackening of the pace; still less can we fall behind. We must not confine ourselves to improvisations, isolated campaigns, and the resolution of partial tasks out of the context of the fundamental goals of restructuring. It is not only hitches and blunders in economic and social policy, but also backwardness, let alone errors, on the theoretical and ideological front that could cause problems and do irreversible damage to our revolutionary cause. That is why we must extend the front of theoretical research still further, and deepen ideological work in every direction.

Comrades, the potential of our party and society for resolving theoretical problems is truly enormous. And today's moral and political climate creates all the conditions for an active creative process in every avenue of social thinking, which has a direct influence on the formation of public awareness.

But the party—here at the Central Committee plenum we must admit this self-critically—has yet to truly make use of all this potential. It has yet to set it in motion or channel it in the direction of restructuring. What is stopping us, comrades?

Of course, the development of theory and social thinking, the renewal of ideology, and the formation of a new consciousness is a very complex, multifaceted, and contradictory process. It takes time and effort. But it cannot proceed spontaneously. It must be constantly directed on the basis of collective work, through creative debates, through the quest for new ideas, the comparison of views, and the struggle of opinions.

Party organizations must recognize the full scale and complexity of this task; oversimplification is impermissible here. We cannot expect everything to proceed by itself, of its own accord, so to speak. Our work in this area must be stepped up resolutely, and on the broadest front. We need debates, seminars, conferences, publications—in a word, the most diverse forms of scientific activity, forms capable of stimulating creative thought.

Naturally, we need energetic ideological activity to translate into practice the achievements that already exist in theory and policy at the present stage of restructuring. We must do purposeful and intelligent work designed to guarantee that the ideas of restructuring take possession of the masses ever more widely and that theory becomes a truly material force in restructuring.

I would also like to say this, comrades: Voices can be heard claiming we have too many debates. Let me say unequivocally: We need debates—serious, creative discussions of every urgent problem. This is the only way we can form an active public opinion and popular consciousness, without which the resolution of the great tasks of transforming society is inconceivable.

One more thing, comrades. We should not fear the novelty of our times or the processes of life. Perhaps we are just beginning to actually grasp that restructuring is a truly revolutionary, transforming process. Moreover, I am sure, comrades, that the novelty of our progress will continue to present us with surprises and other things we do not expect. As such, what will we do—get into a panic, and rush to produce assessments and conclusions? No, comrades, we must make a profound study of life as it really is, show restraint and, on the basis of detailed analysis, ultimately make correct and considered decisions in the interests of our society and socialism.

I am in favor of considered, in-depth, and consistent work in this direction. We must, as the party of Lenin, as a powerful political organism, put all our intellectual potential into action and move foward in theoretical questions step-by-step, enriching policy and practice. Then, in turn, we must draw new experience from practice, interpret that experience, open the way for further activity, and consistently pursue the political course worked out by the CPSU.

We must truly grasp the fact that the old yardsticks are inappropriate for the new phenomena. And most importantly, during the struggle for restructuring we must not lose sight of the main directions, be distracted by detail, and waste energy on the trivial. Some costs are inevitable in a new task; they cannot be avoided. However, our own experience has already shown that only decisive and real progress on the path of revolutionary transformation can remove those questions that only yesterday seemed insoluble and even threatening.

Of course, all this requires that we do intellectual work, engage in creative activity, and pay constant attention to the entire spectrum of phenomena to which restructuring gives rise each day. Everyone should understand this, and time must be found for it. After all, without this work, backwardness is inevitable and life could outstrip us. We simply do not have the right to permit this if we truly want to be the political vanguard in our revolutionary times.

These are some considerations on the implementation of the conference decisions. Let us discuss the proposals submitted for examination at the plenum.

In general, as you see, our program of work is intensive. It stems from the urgent demands of the deepening of restructuring and is determined by the decisions of the 27th party congress and the 19th all-union conference.

We need radical advances in every sector of social renewal and primarily in the resolution of the urgent problems in the lives of the Soviet people. This is the task of every party organization and Communist.

By delegating greater powers locally and creating opportunities to develop sociopolitical, economic, and labor initiative, we also delegate party responsibility and the personal responsibility of Communists for work in specific areas of restructuring.

Today is the time to act. The contribution of each Communist and working person to restructuring is determined by specific work and the specific results of labor.

Resolution on Conference Decisions

LD0108080188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Second Edition, p 1

["CPSU Central Committee Plenum Resolution: On Practical Work To Implement the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference Decisions"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] 1. The Central Committee of the CPSU notes that the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which has been a major event in the life of the party and the country, has adopted decisions whose implementation will make it possible to accelerate considerably the processes of restructuring, of radical economic reform and democratization in Soviet society.

The debate on the report of the CPSU Central Committee and the other documents of the conference, which was marked by high activeness on the part of the delegates, was of a frank and principled character and was permeated with great concern for the good of the people and the destiny of socialism. Many proposals have been expressed and put forth for the elimination of the shortcomings, which stand in the way of restructuring, and contain the processes of renovation, of carrying out the reform of the political system and further democratizing the life of society and the party. A considerable portion of the remarks and practical observations concerns urgent questions pertaining to the activities of the work collectives, improving the supplies for the population, and accelerating the development of all fields of the services for the working people.

The CPSU Central Committee has made it incumbent upon the party organizations to concentrate on the practical implementation of the guidelines of the conference to make sure that their implementation should become the core of the party's work, the work of all state and public organizations. They should encourage people to act to the full effect of their energies and with utmost responsibility for the work entrusted to them. Of decisive significance are the initiative and good organization by the Communists, an active stand of each party member in the constructive resolution of the arising problems, the assertion of new approaches in the political, economic, social, and spiritual fields in combating shortcomings, manifestations of bureaucratism, lack of discipline, and irresponsibility. All of this work should be done specifically and persistently, pressing ahead for weighty results.

2. The CPSU Central Committee approves the proposals drawn up by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on measures to improve food supplies in the country, the basic guidelines for further developing and perfecting economic relations in the agro-industrial complex.

It considers it expedient that the USSR Council of Ministers, the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics, the executive committees of territorial and regional soviets of people's deputies, the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, and territorial and regional party committees should outline and implement on the basis of these proposals specific measures to improve food supplies in the country.

Take note of the fact that in keeping with the recommendations of the 19th all-union party conference, the USSR Council of Ministers has drawn up proposals on measures to develop and deepen the radical economic reform and eliminate the shortcomings brought to light in the course of its implementation. The above-said proposals approved by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo shall be made the basis of further work to carry out the radical economic reform.

Approve the draft decisions of the USSR Government as put forth by the USSR Council of Ministers on the questions raised at the 19th all-union party conference pertaining to ensuring an increase in the output of consumer goods, improving the trade services for the population and a radical restructuring of the field of paid services. 3. The central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, the territorial, regional, area, city and district party committees and the communists working at the corresponding soviet bodies shall take practical steps at the earliest date, with due account for the decisions of the 19th party conference, to delimit the functions of the party committees and the soviets of the people's deputies; to ensure in that greater responsibility on the part of the soviets for the socioeconomic development of the territories, increasing their independence, giving assistance to the soviets by reinforcing them with cadres, organizing work for the administration of the local affairs, and implementing the policy of the party and the state; to exclude further the adoption of joint resolutions by the party committees and the executive-administrative bodies of the soviets and to resolutely stop the attempts of the members of the party apparatus at interfering with the exercise of the powers by the bodies of the soviets; and to approve the main directions of restructuring the party apparatus and complete this work by the end of the current year.

4. Noting the importance of enhancing the activeness and strengthening independence in the work of the party organizations, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee considers it is necessary to implement without any additional instructions the demands of the CPSU conference as regards democratizing intraparty relations, asserting everywhere the atmosphere of party comradeship, free discussion of all issues, openness, glasnost, collectivism, conscientious discipline, and personal responsibility. Special attention shall be drawn to overcoming the passiveness of a part of the party members, to steadily increase exactingness in the fulfillment of the CPSU rules, and to change radically the work done by the elected bodies, which shall bear all responsibility for the state of things at party organizations and perseveringly pursue the policy of restructuring.

The plenary meeting notes the principled significance of the upcoming report and election campaign in the party. It shall proceed under the badge of enhancing the party role as the political vanguard of the people, mobilizing the Communists for carrying out radical transformations in all fields of the society's life, and accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. It is important that the spirit of the party conference, its democratic atmosphere and critical trend, should be spread to the provincial organizations and that the combination of the ideas of restructuring with the practical activities of every party organization, a renovation of all party life and democratization of party leadership, be ensured; endorse the decision of the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee "On Reports and Elections in Party Organizations."

5. It is necessary to carry out without delay legal and organizational measures for the reform of the political system. To this end:

Prepare and submit for nationwide discussions in October 1988 the draft law on amendments and supplements to the Constitution of the USSR and a law on elections of the USSR people's deputies, and hold these elections in March 1989. Simultaneously organize appropriate work in the union and autonomous republics so that the new republican and local bodies of state power should start discharging their duties in December 1989. In drafting laws on amendments to the USSR Constitution and on elections it is necessary to proceed from the provisions contained in the report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 19th party conference, the resolutions adopted by it and the report by the Central Committee Politburo at the current plenary meeting.

Put forward for examination at the next session of the USSR Supreme Soviet on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee the question of the objectives of perfecting the structure and activities of the bodies of state power and justice in the light of the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. Put forward for discussion at the session draft legislative acts and proposals on making amendments to the constitution of the USSR in connection with the implementation of the reform of the political system, renovation of the electoral system in effect and restructuring the activities of the courts of law.

Consider it expedient in keeping with the decisions of the conference to convene in April 1989 a congress of the People's Deputies of the USSR to elect the Surpeme Soviet of the USSR and resolve other questions within its power pertaining to forming the all-union state bodies. Then start work at the USSR Supreme Soviet on the draft laws on youth, on the rights of the trade unions, on voluntary societies, on the governing bodies iof public activities and other public associations, on the press and other legislative acts ensuing from the reform of the political system.

To enhance the role of the soviets and fundamentally strengthen their legal and material-financial basis, prepare in 1989 a draft law on the local self-government and local economy by using as its basis the principles of self-administration, self-financing, self- sufficiency and the linkage of regional interests with those of the whole state, strengthening the ties between the local soviets and plants and collective farms, the councils of work collectives and public organizations. The said draft law shall be submitted for broad public discussion.

Press ahead for ensuring already now more democratism in the activities of the soviets at all levels, that the role of the deputies, of the standing committees and the deputy groups should grow so that the guidelines of the 19th party conference should be implemented in full on increasing control over the work of management oragans, on combating bureaucratism and developing glasnost.

6. In the field of interethnic relations attention shall be concentrated on eliminating stagnation phenomena in the development of some regions, underestimation of the socioeconomic and spiritual requirements of nationalities and ethnic groups, it is necessary to oppose resolutely anti-restructuring forces fanning up nationalistic and chauvenistic passions. Carry out measures to strengthen the legal basis of interethnic relations as was envisaged by the 19th party conference, to strengthen ideological and political work, perseveringly assert socialist iinternationalism.

Instruct the Central Committee Politburo to prepare jointly with the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, the corresponding territorial and regional party committes, scientific institutions to prepare by the beginning of 1989 the necessary materials on questions pertaining to the perfection of inter-ethnic relations in the USSR for examination at the plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee.

7. Carry out on the whole before the middle of 1989 a reform of the judiciary, a restructuring in the activities of the procurator's offices, arbitration, investigatory authorities, the bar, the legal service in the economy, work for perfecting the criminal law, unfold broadly juridical education for all. Regard these measures as the first steps on the way toward carrying out a large-scale legal reform, to strengthen the fundamentals of the Soviet socialist legal state.

'Report and Election' Resolution

LD0108081188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

["CPSU Central Committee Resolution: On Reports and Elections in Party Organizations"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] 1. In accordance with the CPSU rules and decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, report and election meetings and conferences will take place before the end of this year in the CPSU's primary, district, city, area, regional and territorial organizations.

The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee believes that the upcoming report and election campaign should become an important stage in the practical implementation of the guidelines worked out by the 19th CPSU Conference to deepen restructuring, to carry out the reform of the political system, and to further democratize the life of society and the party. It is to promote in every way the activization of the party masses, enhancement of the role and responsibility of the party organizations and committees, assertion of the political methods of leadership in their activity. It is necessary that, revolutionary in its essence, the democratic atmosphere of the conference, its businesslike tenor, frankness and the acuity of the discussions held at it, irreconcilibality to shortcomings, a creative quest for ways and means to make the renovation process irreversible, should inform all activity of party meetings and conferences.

2. To obligate the central committees of the communist parties of union republics, the territorial, regional, area, city, district party committees and the primary party organizations to carefully prepare for the report and election campaign, to conduct it at a high ideological, political and organizational level, keynoted by the increasing role of the party as the political vanguard of the people and by mobilizing the Communists to implement radical transformations in all spheres of society, to accelerate the social and economic development of the country.

At the report and election meetings and conferences it is necessary to carry out a profound and comprehensive analysis of the progress in the implementation of the decisions of the 27th party congress, the state of the organizational, ideological and education work, to adopt a self-critical and principled approach to the evaluation of the style and methods of activity of party organizations and their elected bodies, to concentrate the efforts of the communists on the practical work of implementing the tasks set by the 19th all-union party conference.

Special attention should be given to a further organizational and political strengthening and upgrading of the role of the primary organizations, to improving the activity of Communists in the soviets of people's deputies, trade unions, the Komsomol and other public organizations, to perfecting the selection, promotion and education of cadres.

The progress of the economic reform, the questions of the introduction of the new economic mechanism, of the assertion of the principles of cost-accounting and self-financing, of the development of socialist self-government at production should be profoundly and comprehensively discussed.

The process of reports and elections should be one of examining in detail the ways of the most rapid solution of the food problem, of clearly defining what needs to be done for this in a practical way in each region, in each labor collective. Measures should be worked out to ensure an effective utilization of the possibilities of the kolkhoz and sovkhoz production on the basis of developing different forms of contract, leasing, and cooperation. It is also important to adopt a businesslike approach to discussing other urgent tasks: filling the market with high quality consumer goods, increasing the scale of housing, social and cultural construction, bettering trade and the entire services sphere, improving health care, carrying out reform of the secondary and higher education, meeting more fully the spiritual and cultural requirements of the working people.

Every party organization must focus its attention on questions of ideological, internationalist tempering of Soviet people, especially the young, of fostering a conscientious and creative attitude to work, a profound awareness of the duty before society, irreconcilibity to any manifestations of irresponsibility and bureaucratism.

3. The report and election campaign is called upon to make a maximum contribution to a further democratization of all internal party life, to foster in the party organizations an atmosphere of creative discussion, freedom of opinion, broad criticism and self-criticism, greater initiative, personal responsibility and conscious discipline of the Communists.

Guided by the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, it is necessary to ensure everywhere a broad discussion of candidatures and vote by secret ballot during the election of members and secretaries of party committees, the full possibility for including in the ballots more candidates than the number of mandates, the implementation of the right of party organizations to make proposals on candidatures to the higher party body, on the understanding that the final decision belongs to the delegates of the corresponding conference.

It is important that the elections to the leadership bodies of the party be conducted in a manner that would bring into them people truly active, with initiative and authority, capable of carrying restructuring forward not in words but in deeds, of competently working with the masses, achieving real, practical results. The report and election campaign should be used for replenishing the composition of party cadres with new blood, for beefing up the various links of the party leadership with politically mature, competent workers with high moral qualities.

The plenary meeting finds it necessary to put into effect the decision made by the 19th all-union party conference to limit the holding of one and the same elective office in party bodies to two 5-year tenures, starting the count of tenures with the forthcoming report and election campaign. At the same time Communists have the right to discuss and decide the question about every leader on his personal merits, regardless of the time spent by him in office, and taking into account the way he tackled the responsibilities entrusted him and whether he is capable of achieving a qualitative improvement of performance.

4. To ensure that reports and elections in party organizations take place in a situation of broad glasnost. Central and local press, television and radio should give systematic coverage to the progress of meetings and conferences, their atmosphere, issues raised by Communists, and to provide the public with detailed information on the decisions adopted, the composition of the elected party bodies, to show how the critical remarks and proposals are being implemented.

5. To adopt the proposals of the local party bodies on holding report and election meetings in primary party organizations in September-October, of district, city and area conferences—in October-November, of regional and territorial conferences—in November-December of the current year.

6. To instruct the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, with account for the discussion held at the plenary meeting, to approve the instruction on holding elections to the leading party bodies.

Resolution on Restructuring Party

LD0108081788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
31 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

["CPSU Central Committee Plenum Resolution: On Basic Guidelines for Restructuring the Party Apparatus"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] The 19th all-union party conference has found it drastically necessary to restructure the entire activity of the party, to bring the forms and methods of the work of party organizations in line with the CPSU's role of political vanguard of society and the new tasks. In this connection key importance is acquired by a clear-cut and consistent delimitation of the functions of party committees and state, economic bodies, the overcoming of parallelism and duplication in their work, a radical change in the structure and improvement of the quality of the party apparatus, and its strict subordination and accountability to elective party collegiums.

The plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee resolves:

1. To reorganize the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee and the local party bodies by the end of the current year, to reorganize its structure in accordance with the party's functions in the present-day conditions with a view to discontinuing the practice of spreading out the apparatus piecemeal among branches of administration and to strengthen the departments that deal with the main questions of home and foreign policy. The overall number of personnel should be substantially reduced.

To proceed from the premise that the party apparatus, being an inalienable component part of the party's organizational structure, is called upon to be an active force of restructuring, an instrument by means of which the elective party bodies exercise their political, organizing and educational functions, conduct their current work to implement and verify fulfillment of adopted decisions and provide assistance to lower-standing organizations in their activity.

To use the reorganization of the party apparatus and the release of a part of its personnel for strengthening important sectors of state, economic and public activity, as well as lower-standing party echelons. Special attention here should be given to strengthening the apparatus of the soviets of people's deputies and people's control bodies with due account for their new role in the political system.

To ensure an active participation of primary party organizations of the apparatus of party committees in the implementation of its restructuring.

2. The CPSU Central Committee attaches prime importance to strengthening the political nature of the leadership effected by party committees, to resolutely eliminating the methods of guidance by command and manifestations of technocratism in their activity, and to asserting democratic principles in party and public life.

The ability to consistently implement the party's line of the revolutionary renewal of society, to act creatively, by methods of ideological-educational and organizational work, without excessive wardship over lower-standing party echelons and without fettering them is now particularly required of party committees and their apparatus. It is necessary to attentively study and sum up the practice of party work in the new conditions, to analyze processes taking place in the political, economic, social and spiritual spheres, to promote the dissemination of the best experience. The work of the party apparatus should be increasingly marked by efficiency, glasnost, a critical attitude and daily links with the masses.

3. The party committees, their bureaus and secretariats are obliged to devote more attention to the selection and nomination of personnel to the party apparatus, staff it with politically mature, well-prepared Communists possessing high moral qualities and capable of organizing work in a new way.

The recommendation of a primary party organization is obligatory for the nomination of personnel to the party apparatus. The party organization that recommended a Communist to engage in party work has the right to raise the question of relieving him of his post if he has not justified the trust shown in him.

It is necessary to support and develop in every way the initiative of members of the apparatus, to give them more assistance, to assert an atmosphere of party comradeship, the equality of all Communists before the rules of the CPSU, resolutely to uproot elements of bureaucratism, manifestations of immodesty, communist self-conceit and servility.

4. To instruct the CPSU Central Committee Politburo to study and approve the new structure of the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee and also to determine the main echelons of the apparatus of local party bodies while giving to the central committees of the communist parties of the union republics, the party territorial and regional committees the right to independently solve the questions of the structure and staff of all party committees and party institutions with due account for the change in the functions and within the limits of the approved wages fund of the republican, territorial and regional party organizations.

TASS Correction to CPSU Resolutions Report

Moscow TASS in English at 1752 GMT on 29 July transmits a "corrected version" of the item subheaded "Resolutions Adopted", under the headline "CPSU Central Committee Holds Plenum 29 Jul", published in the 29 July Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 39, which contains the following variation:

Column two, paragraph four, line five in the corrected version reads: "...to prepare proposals connected with the implementation of the reform of Soviet society's political system.

"With this the..." (supplying variant wording)

Government Resolution Pertains to Tax System

LD0108114588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] A resolution adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 29 July points out that in connection with the adoption of the Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR" the action of the 14 March 1988 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree has been suspended as far as it relates to taxation of the income of members of cooperatives producing and selling products and providing services and of the earnings of citizens working in these cooperatives on the basis of a labor agreement or contract. At the same time, the USSR Council of Ministers was instructed to prepare USSR draft legislation on taxation of income in cooperatives and on other questions of their economic relationship with the state.

Until the new taxation system is introduced tax will be levied on the income of members of cooperatives in the production and services spheres and agricultural cooperatives (except for kolkhozes) and individuals working in them on the basis of labor contracts, beginning with income received in July 1988, at the rates set for taxation of workers' and employees' income.

A resolution adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers on taxation of the income of cooperatives in the production and services spheres and agricultural cooperatives (except for kolkhozes) envisages that the income of these types of cooperatives will be taxed in accordance with the procedure and amounts set by the USSR Council of Ministers 5 February 1987 resolution "On Setting Up Cooperatives for the Production of Consumer Goods." In accordance with this document, cooperatives pay tax on their income at the rate of 2-3 percent in the first year, 3-5 percent in the second year, and 10 percent in subsequent years. The specific rates within the aforementioned parameters are determined by the local soviet ispolkoms registering the cooperatives' statutes.

RSFSR Adopts Law on Demonstrations

LD2907191388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1650 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 29 Jul (TASS)—On 28 July the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet published a "decree on the procedure for the organization and conduct of meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations in the USSR."

In line with this decree, and also with the aim of ensuring public order and the protection of the rights and interests of citizens during mass events, on 29 July 1988 the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet published a "Decree on Responsibility for Breach of the Established procedure for the organization and conduct of meetings, rallies, street marches and demonstrations."

The decree stipulates that a breach of the procedure for the organization and conduct of meetings, rallies, street marches, and demonstrations carries administrative penalties in the form of a warning or a fine of up to 300 rubles. In exceptional cases, depending on the circumstances of the case and taking into account the character of the violator, if these measures are deeemed inadequate, then a penalty is envisaged in the form of administrative arrest for up to 15 days.

For similar acts perpetrated repeatedly within 1 year of the implementation of administrative punishment or as an organizer of a rally, meeting, street march, or demonstration, a fine of up to R1,000 may be imposed, or corrective labor for 1 to 2 months with the deduction of 20 percent of earnings, or administrative arrest for up to 15 days.

For infringement of the established procedure for organizing or conducting rallies, meetings, street marches, or demonstrations after the application of measures of administrative punishment for the same offence, criminal sanctions are stiuplated in the form of deprivation of liberty for a period of up to 6 months or corrective labor for a period of up to 1 year or a fine of up to R2,000.

It is also stipulated that, in imposing an administrative punishment, a judge may require an offender who is not a resident of the locality in question to leave it. Expenses arising from implementation of such an instruction by a judge are to be paid by the offender in accordance with the rules established by law.

The decree introduces the appropriate changes and additions to the RSFSR Code on adminstrative offences and to the RSFSR Criminal Code.

Kuybyshev Party Plenum Releases Muravyev

LD3007124688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] A plenum of the Kuybyshev CPSU Obkom was held today. It examined an organizational matter. The plenum released Comrade Muravyev from the duties of first secretary of the party obkom in connection with his retirement on pension. Comrade Afonin, who has been heading the chemical industry department of the CPSU Central Committee, was elected first secretary of the Kuybyshev CPSU Obkom. The plenum was addressed by Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Expelled Armenian Nationalist Arrives in Rome

AU3007190388 Paris AFP in English 1816 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Text] Rome, July 30 (AFP)—Armenian nationalist, Paruyr Ayrikyan, expelled from the Soviet Union last week for his militant activities, arrived in Rome Saturday from Addis Ababa, reliable sources said.

Mr. Ayrikyan, who was stripped of his Soviet citizenship last week, had told the Italian news agency ADN Kronos on Wednesday that he had been "kidnapped" by eight KGB agents and flown to Addis Ababa on a special flight.

It is not yet known where Mr. Ayrikyan will live and how long he will stay in Rome. Mr. Ayrikyan, whose wife Yelena remains in the Soviet Union, was met at the airport by his cousin Silva Ayrikyan.

Armenian MVD Acts To Boost Effectiveness

PM2907151188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Jul 88 p 4

[Article by special correspondent Yu. Petrov: "Ensuring Everyday Life Is Calm"]

[Text] Yerevan—The working week is continuing in the Armenian capital. Industrial enterprise collectives are stepping up the pace of work. Reports are coming from other cities in the republic that the situation is improving and labor productivity is increasing everywhere. The abandonment of the strike as an untenable way of solving the problems in Nagorno-Karabakh itself has certainly been a positive factor in normalizing life.

To what degree are the republic's inhabitants guaranteed a calm situation precluding the stirring up of passions? After all, there were instances when "agitators" from outside interfered in collectives' work and called on people to strike. Can such actions be classified as breaches of public order?

The Armenian SSR MVD explained that the actual fact of this "agitation" from the legal viewpoint is not regarded as an offense. But it may lead to negative consequences at odds with the laws and to infringements of citizens' rights. At the beginning of the strike, for example, some people prevented city transport from operating—this constituted a breach of public order.

Special mobile groups were set up in MVD subdivisions to counteract such phenomena. However, at industrial enterprises where the administration and party and trade union committees were operating skillfully, there was no need for intervention by "outside" forces. The collectives defended their positions and continued to work.

People who provoked disturbances in city streets did not remain unpunished, Armenian Minister of Internal Affairs U. Arutyunyan reported. In particular, groups of young people in Yerevan drove around shouting provocative slogans and circled V.I. Lenin Square and then the city streets in a disorderly manner. Similar instances occurred in other population centers. The republic's MVD took the measures envisaged by legislation. As a result 155 drivers were deprived of their driving license, 310 were fined, and 37 were placed under administrative arrest.

In all 44 criminal cases were brought regarding all instances of destabilizing the situation. Three of them have already been submitted for trial, and one has been submitted to the commission for minors' affairs.

Strict measures have been taken against militia workers who failed to carry out their official duties conscientiously in a critical situation. For example, in Masis a group of thugs wrecked a fruit truck, but the public order workers remained indifferent. They have been punished for this. The hooligans have been discovered.

A number of MVD staffers who failed to carry out their duties conscientiously were warned that they were not matching up to the demands of the job, and several were demoted. New people are being recruited to the forces for the maintenance of public order. Incidentally, U. Arutyunyan was appointed to the post of internal affairs minister only 1 month ago...

Glasnost is being stepped up in the militia's work, and better use is being made of the mass media.

This is making it possible to more effectively combat the rumors which are still disturbing the population. Here is what happened, for example, when a bus collided with a truck. Fantasies quickly emerged: An Azerbaijani was driving the truck, and an Armenian was driving the bus, and Armenians were among the casualties. Truthful information disproved these rumors. The press gave the drivers' surnames—both were Armenians. The accident happened because of a breach of traffic regulations, and five people died because of it...

Incidentally, rumors even distort the situation in the MVD. It is rumored in Yerevan that more than 100 militia workers handed in their notice because their convictions and their official duty were in conflict. The republic's MVD reported that this was also fantasy.

The MVD has accepted in a healthy way the reproaches and criticism of it for instances of sluggishness and for reduced activity, and the collective is improving the quality of its work. The situation in Yerevan these days probably does not differ substantially from the situation in other cities with a population of over 1 million.

Azerbaijan Making Plans for NKAO Development

NC0108071888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Excerpt] A significant opportunity has been created for the realization of the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers in connection with the measures required for upgrading the pace of the Azerbaijan SSR Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast's [NKAO] social and economic development from 1988 to 1995. Administrative commissions have been arriving in Stepanakert over the past few days to establish the measures required for realizing the plans drawn up for socioeconomic development.

Plans have been drawn up for [words indistinct], oblast hopsital, [words indistinct], sewer systems, and water supply installations for Stepanakert and other rayon centers and residential areas. At the same time, construction workers have been preparing for a significant volume of construction work in the oblast. [Words indistinct] machinery for the construction of buildings, roads, and [word indistinct] are now on their way to Stepanakert.

Ayaz Mutalibov, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers Presidium and chairman of the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, has said:

The initial steps have been taken toward realizing the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers for Nagorno-Karabakh's development. However, I believe construction, communications, and transportation workers can intensify their work, and they should do so. As has been the case in the past, the leading officials of various ministries are still waiting for instructions from higher officials. Of course, we are considering the difficulties. A number of administrations are working under [words indistinct] conditions. However, they have no right to forget about their work in the other rayons of the Republic. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the realization of the program drawn up for Nagorno-Karabakh's development is a matter of honor for all the workers in Azerbaijan. We must all draw serious conclusions from the criticism put forward during the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's meeting.

Meanwhile, the civil aviation committee has decided that the most modern aircraft can be used to maintain links with Stepanakert, which is situated in (?mountainous) terrain. Ivanov, chairman of the Civil Aviation Committee and [words indistinct], has said:

[Words indistinct] which renders the landing of aircraft difficult. Working together with Azerbaijan construction and aviation workers, we shall remove the difficulties. [passage omitted]

Official Appraises Progress

PM0108105788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent R. Talyshinskiy report: "From Emotions to Business"]

[Text] Baku—It cannot be said that interest in what is happening in Nagorno-Karabakh has diminished in Baku and the republic's other regions. But there have been changes in the public atmosphere. And it can be said that these changes are irreversible. Following the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, which marked a breakthrough in the development of events, the enormous tension which had gripped the republic for the last 6 months has eased.

Business life is again at the center of people's attention. The republic's crop farmers are completing the harvesting—the winter grain harvest is being completed on kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Farms in the Nakhichevan ASSR, for instance, are already fully stocked with seeds and feed grain, and have created backup stocks. Feed procurement is proceeding more intensively than last year. The republic's press recently reported that an agreement had been signed on the creation in Baku of the "Bakmil" Soviet-Italian joint venture, which is planned to produce 700,000 various domestic electric devices per year. A purpose-built republic diagnostics center is about to open.

The other day the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers Presidium examined the progress of the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Accelerate the Socioeconomic Development of the Azerbaijan SSR's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in 1988-1995."

"Having closely examined the reports from republic ministries and departments, one cannot fail to come to the objective conclusion that a great deal has already been done," A. Rasi-Zade, first deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, said. "Even representatives of the Nagorno-Karabakh Oblispolkom, who took part in the presidium's work for the first time in a long while, agreed with us on this. For instance, Armenian television programs can already be received in Stepanakert and the oblast's rayons. Plans are under way to expand the furniture factory and build a mixed feed plant in Askeran, a reservoir on the Badarchay River, and sewerage and water supply systems in Stepanakert and a number of rayon centers and rural population centers. There are already concrete studies in the oblast for the creation of subsidiaries of a whole number of industrial enterprises."

Next year it is planned to commission new housing, schools, and preschool institutions, and construction will begin of an oblast hospital and clinic, an oblast printing house, and a whole number of other projects.

Zagladin Views Restructuring Foreign Policy

LD3007082888 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 29 Jul 88

[Interview with Vadim Zagladin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—questions read by announcer; Zagladin's remarks recorded in Russian fading into English]

[Text] [Announcer] This country's new approach to foreign policy is the subject of our reporter's interview with Vadim Zagladin, who is one of the men in charge of the International Department at the Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow. The economic reform and democratization in society have been running up against serious difficulties. Has the foreign policy restructuring been facing similar problems?

[Zagladin] Foreign policy is a specific field. When the socialist revolution was carried out in 1917, the first sphere that could be really restructured was foreign policy. Why is that? Well, in industry nationalization was indispensable and that was a difficult process. In the countryside the situation was even more difficult. It took several years to change the banking system. As for foreign policy, it was transformed very quickly by replacing Foreign Ministry officials for persons devoted to the revolution and by reversing the foreign policy concepts, the first consequence of which: the Decree on Peace.

Now, too, the restructuring in foreign policy has been faster and more energetic than in other fields. This is borne out by the revitalized international contacts, better Soviet-American relations, the diminished threat of a direct Soviet-American confrontation, and Soviet contribution to the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan.

However, there are many unresolved problems: new international processes have been studied inadequately and there have been too few comprehensive analyses of the world situation. This gap must be bridged. Another problem is taking the role of the public into account in foreign policy. Or take the economic aspects of our international activities, restructuring has still been slow in this sphere and our foreign economic ties at this stage leave much to be desired.

[Announcer] These problems were discussed in detail at a conference held in the Foreign Ministry in Moscow recently. Foreign policy figured prominently in the speech by the Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and in statements by participants in the conference, including Soviet foreign policy department leaders and diplomats. Apparently this can be interpreted as a process of reappraising approach to international affairs, a process that is gathering momentum.

[Zagladin] I think this process is really gaining momentum and this will help us to work out our policy, and our partners and friends to understand our logic and arguments better. Eduard Shevardnadze stressed at the conference in the Foreign Ministry that the trends shaped out in former years were still tangible in the foreign policy department's actions. Those were years when excessive centralization and coercive methods prevailed in all fields, foreign policy included. Up till now, some Foreign Ministry officials are insensitive toward the collective and democratic discussion of problems, and when the future of the country and such a major issue as foreign policy are at stake, different and even completely opposite views are only logical. However, not belittling the menace of conservatism, Eduard Shevardnadze warned against unfeasible attempts to solve all the problems facing us today at one go.

[Announcer] That was part of an interview with Vadim Zagladin, one of the men in charge of the International Department at the Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow. You can hear part two of this interview at the same time tomorrow. Vadim Zagladin will speak about openness and criticism in approach to foreign policy and will analyze significant shortcomings on the part of the Soviet Union and the West in international affairs over the last few years and even decades.

Policy 'Widely' Debated

LD3107012288 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 30 Jul 88

["Part two" of interview with Vadim Zagladin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—questions read by announcer; Zagladin's remarks recorded in Russian fading into English]

[Text] [Announcer] Today we continue an interview with Vadim Zagladin, a prominent Soviet foreign policy specialist and assistant head of the International Affairs Department of the Central Committtee of the Soviet Communist Party. Openness and democratization are getting entrenched more and more in the country's home life, but what about foreign policy?

[Zagladin] I don't seem to understand your question very well. Before, our foreign policy was closed to any discussion, but today it's being debated rather widely. It is discussed in the commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in the press. As for criticism, in the field of foreign policy—like in all others—it has to be exact, balanced, and correct. Hasty and poorly grounded assessments are impermissible, but I am convinced that criticism in foreign policy is also needed, provided certain norms are complied with.

[Announcer] And what, in your opinion, is the attitude of the Soviet people toward the country's foreign policy? Are you sure that all Soviet citizens see it the same way?

[Zagladin] There are big disputes and discussions in the country on how to tackle concretely both policy tasks and economic problems. Many different variants are suggested. As for foreign policy—disarmament, curtailing the arms manufacturing industry, and improved relations with the United States and other countries—these practically have no opponents and no opposition. There are shades of opinion on how successful the country is in carrying out its foreign policy plans. For instance, after President Reagan's visit to Moscow, public opinion polls showed that the absolute majority of the people are for developing Soviet-American relations. However, about one-fifth of the population has certain doubts, and in some regions of the Soviet Union that figure is even higher.

Those people doubt whether relations between the two countries could be improved, considering the stand taken by the United States. At the same time, it is very indicative that according to those polled, Soviet citizens do not at all question the position of the Soviet Union.

[Announcer] What in your opinion were the major errors made by the Soviet Union in the field of foreign policy?

[Zagladin] I'd say that the errors go down to the roots, to the Soviet Union's conceptional inconsistency. For instance, while rejecting the nuclear war and struggling to prevent it, we nevertheless proceeded from the belief that a victory in such a war is possible, hence the confrontation approach in relations with the United States and its allies in NATO. Speaking at a meeting at the Soviet Foreign Ministry in 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the conception which the country adhered to in the past and which asserted that the Soviet Union could be just as strong as any possible coalition of countries confronting it, is absolutely groundless. To follow it would mean to act clearly against the national interest, to imitate the United States, NATO, and Japan in all their military, technological innovations.

The understanding of that reality has prompted us to reassess priorities and advance political methods in international affairs into the forefront. On the other hand, we engaged too much in polemics and valued highly the propaganda and polemics points that we scored. Unfortunately, it often happened that propaganda hampered practical work. And now when the Soviet Union has brought its foreign policy conception in line with reality and logic, the entire policy has begun to look differently.

[Announcer] Now perestroyka is a Russian word, but the meaning it carries could probably be applied not only to the Soviet Union. The world is altering and everybody needs changes. What would you say about the foreign policy errors made in the West?

[Zagladin] It seems to me that again we have to speak about conceptions. To my mind, the most important thing is that starting from 1917 and to this day the West proceeds from a wrong understanding, that the differences in the social system is an insurmountable obstacle on the way to normal relations. At any rate, such is the point of view of a considerable part of Western politicians. Even today, when restructuring is going on at full speed in the country, in the West they keep saying: Yes, of course, those are positive changes, but the Russians have not yet given up their system, so let's wait and not hurry to get closer to them. But the Soviet Union will not give up its system, and if some people think that such would be the outcome of restructuring, their expectations are futile.

We put the question differently. We do not believe that the difference in the social systems is an insurmountable obstacle in developing good relations. What's more, it is our opinion that the differences in the world arena and the many different state setups are not so much a source of contradiction as a tremendous wealth of experience, which offers an opportunity to learn, to compare, and to compete. In other words, it's quite possible to have good relations.

Military

31 Jul Navy Day Festivities Reported

LD3107234788 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 31 July as part of the "Vremya" newscast carries a 5-minute video report on USSR Navy Day. The announcer says:

"Today is the day of the USSR Navy. The fighting ships of the Baltic fleet, twice decorated with the Red Banner, and of the Red Banner Leningrad Naval base have neatly lined up in a column. The missile cruiser "Groznyy" is the flagship of today's festivities. There are destroyers, escort ships, and submarines here. According to tradition, festivities begin from the legendary warship of the revolution, the cruiser "Aurora." Admiral Samoylov [Leningrad Naval Base commander], welcomes and greets the youngest legatees of glory, the seamen of the revolutionary Baltic. These are modern fighting ships. Among them there are also those which remind the Navy veterans of the years of the blockade. These warships defended the besieged city with the might of their guns."

The video shows three warships lined up and the admiral on board one of the ships, M. Voznesenskiy, says:

"Three columns of fighting ships came to a standstill in festive lineup by the roadstead of the Amur Bay. Those that stand guard over the motherland's Pacific Ocean frontier are equipped with state of the art equipment: nuclear power engineering, radio electronics,and missile technology. "Might is our defense and nothing more than that. Sabre-rattling in the middle of the 47th [as heard] peaceful summer is as alien to us as gunboat diplomacy. It is from here, from our coast, that 2 years ago the appeal for stability and peace in what is one of the planet's largest regions rang forth. Vladivistok remembers this, welcoming its sea defenders today."

The video shows a small missile Nanuchka-class ship, a large unidentified battle cruiser that looks similar to the Kirov, two unidentified helicopters hovering nearby, a Tarantul-1-class missile corvette firing a missile which goes underwater and blows up a boat, two unidentified helicopters, and an air-cushioned Lebed-class vehicle.

The report continues from Severomorsk. The announcer describes the courage of the local Navy men during the war. The video shows monuments erected to mark this in an unidentified port, where nine vessels are seen at sea and four in the harbor, all of which are unidentified. The video also shows three Tango-class patrol submarines and a vessel introduced as missile carrier "Marshal Ustinov," numbered 088, which the announcer says has recently returned from a long voyage, having fulfilled its tasks with an "excellent" mark.

The report continues from Sevastopol. The announcer describes various historical feats accomplished by local seamen. The video shows a lineup of many small boats escorting Slava-class Cruiser No 106 and assault troops practicing unarmed combat on board an unidentified ship.

Naval Chief's Address

LD3107165388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1120 GMT 31 Jul 88

[Speech by Vladimir Nikolayevich Chernavin, USSR deputy defense minister, Naval commander in chief, and Hero of the Soviet Union, on 31 July on the occasion of Navy Day; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades: In marking today, a great festive occasion for the Soviet people—Navy Day—I want to note that we are marking this holiday in a special atmosphere in the country, in an atmosphere that is characterized by the powerful effect on all aspects of our life of the recently held 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and its decisions. These decisions inspire the occasion itself, Navy Day, and all sailors with particular pride for our country, our party, our people, and for the fact that we are all not only witnesses to, but also active, direct participants in the great achievements occurring in our country today.

Our country, as is known, is not only a great continental but it is also an equally great maritime power. Today we are rightly proud of the fact that revolutionary sailors were in the vanguard of the active participants in the Great October Socialist Revolution; their sons and grandsons were heroic defenders of the freedom and independence of our great native land in the difficult fiery years of the war, and are reliable defenders of maritime borders in peacetime.

In honoring our sailors today, we ought also to say kind words to our scientists, engineers, designers, and workers, all those who create with their minds and hands the most up to date ships and combat hardware that is today used to equip our naval fleet.

Today our sailors are accomplishing important tasks in the expanses of the world's oceans relating to ensuring the security of our homeland, the security of our allies and countries with which we have friendly relations, and strengthening friendship between peoples. They are constantly at a high level of readiness to cut short any aggression at sea. Sailors must accomplish these tasks in difficult conditions, in any even the most unfavorable weather. The indicator of the political barometer on many seas and oceans invariably points to stormy weather.

What this leads to is borne out both by the situation in the Mediterranean and the situation in the Persian Gulf, where recently through the fault of the U.S. naval forces tragedy struck in the destruction of an Iranian passenger plane on board which 298 people died. It is also not calm in other regions of the world's oceans where our Soviet sailors are performing their combat tour of duty today.

It was stressed at the party conference that building defense should be determined primarily by qualitative parameters, both in hardware and personnel. I can say today with pride and a sense of responsibility that the Navy's personnel is our main reserve in enhancing combat power and combat readiness. Sailors on long sea voyages, in the depths of the ocean, and in difficult flights over boundless waters constantly display skill, and a high level of training, courage, and heroism at times too.

For example, the crews of missile-carrying cruisers "Groznyy" and "Varyag," of the large antisubmarine ship "Ochakov," of the atomic submarine "Leninskiy Komsomol," of the frigate "Bezzavetnyy," and of many other ships in our fleet are performing their tasks worthily in the seas and oceans. Model examples of martial labor are being set by naval airmen and marine infantrymen, by our military builders and by all categories of personnel in our Naval Fleet.

At the same time, we have a considerable amount of unsolved problems, difficulties, and shortcomings, and sometimes simply of poor quality in work and discipline. In short, we are all faced with a great deal of persistent work in fulfilling the conference's mandate concerning the need to adopt, for the most part, qualitative criteria in assessing the training of naval forces, and with adding considerably to our work—each of us and all together.

The military threat from imperialism still remains today. We must by no means forget this if we really wish to draw the correct conclusions from our history. All the more concern is caused by the pacifist moods which sometimes occur, by failings in the military-patriotic education of young people, and by shortcomings in work concerning their physical state and the preparation of young people for service in the Army and the fleet. This is impermissable. Historical experience teaches us that you must not trifle with such matters; we must do everything necessary to eliminate such shortcomings from our work. This is our duty, to the fallen and to the living, to the present and to the future.

Dear comrades, allow me to cordially congratulate the sailors, their families, kith and kin, and all Soviet people on the nationwide holiday of Soviet Navy Day, and to wish all of you, dear comrades, prosperity and good future, happiness and great success in life and labor for the good of our great motherland. Thank you for your attention.